A HISTORICAL STUDY OF INDIAN MUSIC

by

SWĀMĪ PRAJÑĀNĀNANDA

ĀNANDADHĀRĀ PRAKĀSHAN
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DEDICATED

TO THE

Loving Memory of

Pandit Jaharlal Nehru

the first Prime Minister

of

Republic of India.



Raga Vasanta

(Jodhpur Collection, early 18th Century A.D.)

FOREWORD

Some of the most significant writing in English on our music in recent times has come from the pen of Swāmī Prajñānānanda. So it is a pleasure to be asked to launch still another volume from him—perhaps his most scholarly and most searching one to date.

Swāmijī's historical study of our music covers a wide range from the earliest historical traces of our music to the present day. At a time when most "historical" studies degenerate into a mixture of pseudo-legendary and mythology with large doses of sentimentality and platitudes, his scholarly approach is like a breath of fresh air.

He starts with the *Nāradīśikṣā* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and ends with *Rabindra-Sangīt* and Rabindranāth Tagore's own theories. And apart from detailed analysis of every text that matters, he explores practically every relevant field—ancient musical instruments, the nature of orchestra and the chorus in ancient India, the *Sapta-tantrī-Veeṇā* in the Buddhist Caves, the concept of *Rāga*, Aryan and non-Aryan theories, the origin and development of *Dhruvapada*, of the *Kheyāl*. He examines the close relationship that exists between Music and Dance and has some revealing things to say about acoustics, aesthetics, the psychology and philosophy of music, iconography.

There are, naturally, areas where he is completely at home and areas where he gropes a little. No one person could be the complete master of the entire situation.

Where I feel he is happiest and most authoritative is when he examines early texts and authorities in detail. Swāmijī is one of those rare beings in India who has both the requisite musicianship and the scholarship for such a task. He has the critical and discriminating eye of the scholar who does not miss any relevant point and the artiste's appreciation of

the finer aesthetic implications of such points. His commentaries on the early texts are thus like those of a poet and a musician and illuminating in a very special way.

By the very nature of his vocation in life he is also intimately familiar with such epics as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhāratā*, not to mention the *Purāṇas* all of which contain material without which our knowledge of those early days of ritual and music-making would be incomplete.'

There are two ways of approaching an art like Indian music. There is the cold analytical approach of the research worker like Curt Sachs or Marcel Dubois which has its value. There is also the approach of the scholar who is steeped in tradition for whom everything has a deep significance at various levels. History, as traditionally understood, enables one to place every artistic activity in the perspective of contemporary life and thought. Swāmijī belongs to the latter category, but is not unware of the value of the former.

There is an excellent and comprehensive Bibliography. There are a number of Appendices on topics which are important but do not fall strictly within the scope of the main subject.

Altogether, the present book seems to be one of the most important contributions to the study and understanding of our music and I commend it wholeheartedly to the reader.

Saṅgeet Nāṭak Akademi,
New Delhi.
16th December, 1964.

Nārāyaṇa Menon
(Dr. V. K. Nārāyaṇa Menon)

PREFACE

Though I was nurtured in an atmosphere of music and received impetus and inspiration in the culture of music from my family tradition and afterwards learnt classical music from many reputed teachers, including my elder brother, Shri Pāñch Kari Banerjee of Prasādpur (Hooghly), yet I admit, in all humility, that I received real inspiration in music from my revered Master, Śrimat Swāmī Abhedānandajī Mahārāj, the direct disciple of Shri Rāmakrishna Paramahansa Dev and the spiritual brother of Śrimat Swāmi Vivekānanda. I came in touch with Swāmī Abhedānanda in 1924, and took initiation in Sannyāsa and joined the Rāmakrishna Order in 1927. I learnt classical music, specially *dhruvapada* (*dhrupad*) from different teachers like Nikuñja Bihārī Dutt (of Sibpur, Howrah), the direct disciple of Sangītaratnākara Aghore Nāth Chakravurty (of Harinābhi, 24 Parganās), Sangītanāyaka Gopeśwara Banerjee (of Bishnupur, Bānkurā), Sangītāchārya Harinārāyaṇa Mukhopādhyāya (of Devnāthpurā, Vārāṇasī) and others for a pretty long year. I also took training from Jñānendra Prasād Goswāmī (of Bishnupur) in *dhruvapada* and *kheyāl*.

I consider music as a spiritual *sādhanā* and as a better means to rouse the real aesthetic sense and spirituality in man. My spiritual teacher, Swamī Abhedānanda used to tell me many a time that music is the best medium that leads sincere seekers after truth to Divine knowledge (*Brahmajñāna*). I try to follow the deep significance of his words, and I believe that practice as well as true knowledge of music leads mankind to the life divine.

I have dealt with various problems of the *Nāradīśikṣā* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the evolution of ancient musical instruments of India, the concept of *rāga*, orchestra and chorus, the classical *prabandhas* like *dhruvapada* and *kheyāl* or *khyāl*, different music-types of Bengal and their evolution, different types of dance, etc. in this book. Besides, I have striven to solve some problems of acoustic science, iconography, aesthetic-cum-psychological as well as philosophical aspects of Indian music. I have also shown that philosophy of music is mainly concerned with the theory of sound i.e. *dhvani* or *sphoṭa*, which is the basic and essential part of both Eastern and Western music. I am aware that many of the students and teachers of music are not ordinarily accustomed to take keen interest in the psychological and philosophical aspects of music, and yet it is understood that there are students and teachers, who are really serious and critical in their approach towards the culture of genuine and traditional form of music, and as such I have ventured to deal with this difficult task of discussing briefly the psychology and philosophy of music.

Further I would like to add that though many of the subjects, dealt with in the present book, were discussed before in my previous books, yet I can assure the readers that I have thrown new light upon those subjects and have discussed some new problems which were not handled in my previous works. In the last chapter of the book, I have discussed about the main problems of the prime aim and object of music, and have pointedly shown that the realization of one's Self is the prime object of music, and by means of music it is possible for all to achieve that state which enables them to remove the nescience or *ajñāna* and to enjoy everlasting peace and blessedness in their mundane life.

In this historical study of music, I have maintained throughout the book that until and unless music is viewed in its historical perspective, it will be futile to solve its various problems. In connection with the ancient musical instruments of India, I have mainly dealt with the evolution of *veeṇā*, *veṇu* and *puṣkara* in the chapter IV. It is a fact that not only the musical instruments, but also all the ingredients of music should properly be investigated with historical perspective. Well has it been said by Dr. B. C. Deva that in order to trace the history of any instrument "we have to rely upon the following: (1) References in musical texts; (2) References in the general literature on people; (3) Paintings, sculptures. These (paintings, sculptures) are not always reliable, as the depiction is often stylized and true to life). * * ; (4) Epigraphic references; (5) Folk-lore and mythology, often scantily dismissed, but yielding fruitful clues on careful study" (Cf. his article on the *Mukhavīṇā* in the Sur-Śṛṅger journal, vol. 2, Octo., 1964, No. 2).

Dr. Deva is of opinion that though *veṇu*, the flute, is old as the Vedas, yet the *mukhavīṇā* family, comprising the *mukhavīṇā*, *nāgaswara*, *ottu*, *shehnāi*, *sundari* is definitely of later origin. "*Mukhavīṇā*, a smaller variety of *nāgaswara*", he says, "is referred to in Telugu poet Pālkurki Somanātha's work, who lived in the 12th-13th century. *Nāgaswara* is referred to in Telugu poet Skandapurāṇa, Śrīnātha's *Kriḍābhiraman* of the 14th century and Ahobala's *Saṅgeet-pārijāta* (17th century). * * The *shehnāi* is usually taken to be an imported instrument from the Middle-East. Its Persian name is said to be *surṇā*, changed to *sanāyi* in India. The older Mongolian variety, traced to India, is also called *suru-nāi*. While the author of the *Sangeetsāra*

mentions an instrument, *sunāri*, very much like a *shehnāi*, this perhaps the same as *sundari*, a diminutive *shehnāi* of Mahārāṣṭra" (Cf. the article, *Mukhavīṇā*).

In the chapter V, I have tried to prove that orchestra and chorus were in vogue in ancient India even before the beginning of the Christian era. In the 2nd century A.D., Bharata has mentioned and described about the form of Indian orchestra, named *kutapa* in the *Naṭyaśāstra*, and after him, Abhinavagupta and Śaraṅgdevā have made them explicit. I have given genuine evidences of the orchestras which are depicted in different Cave-temples of India. As in ancient India, orchestras, constructed out of different musical instruments, were in practice to accompany dance and music, so they were in practice in different ancient countries like Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Assyria, Greece, Rome, Italy, Persia, Arabia, etc. Dr. Farmer has stated in the book, *A New Oxford History of Music*, vol. I (1957) that the historians, musicologists and archaeologists are of opinion that 3000 years before the Christian era at least, ancient Mesopotamia had numerous musical instruments, and the Mesopotamians were the master of them. In fact, the musical instruments used to play an important role in ancient Mesopotamia. Similarly in Assyria and oldest Sumeria, musical instruments played an important part in their social life, and it is evident from the art remains, preserved in the British Museum.

Dr. Farmer has said that from the time of Ashur-nasir-pal III (c 883-859 B.C.), we get ample lithographic materials of music and musical instruments. The British Museum bas-reliefs also illustrate the artistic interests of Ashur-bāni-pal (668-626 B.C.). In the book of Daniel (iii), written in the second century B.C. the orchestra of

the Chaldecan King Nebuchudnezzar (604-562 B.C.) has been mentioned, and that orchestra was formed out of the combination of musical instruments like horn (*'qarnā*), pipe (*masrōqīthā*), kithara (*qīthror*), trigonal lower-chested harp (*sabbeka*) and upper-chested concord harp (*psantrīn ṣūnifouyāh*). The Mesopotamian court minstrelsy, even in later Archaemenid days, "was usually conceived on a grandiose scale. With the Assyrians the position of the court ministrel was a high one, as his apparel and situation often denote. The singing girls were the later Arabian *qaināt*, a term used to denote both female musicians and attendants, and the cognate Akkadian word, *kināt* (female attendants), had probably the other meaning also".

Regarding the musical instruments of Mesopotamia, the historians, musicologists and archaeologists are of opinion that 3000 years before the Christian era at least, ancient Mesopotamia had numerous instruments of music, "not only of a most varied character, but of a very high and advanced degree of construction, as the harps and ketharas of Sumerian days alone eloquently testify". In the chapter VIII of this book, I have dealt with the historical evolution of some regional and foreign melody-types or *rāgas*, and their incorporation into the stock of classical music, so as to enlarge and enrich the domain of Indian music. In chapter IX, I have discussed about the historical evolution of the *prabandha* type of *dhruvapada-gīti*, advancing evidences from ancient Sanskrit treatises. In the same way, the evolution and problem of *kheyāl* or *khyāl* type of *gīti* has been approached with in the light of historical evidences. Though I am aware that there are controversies among some scholars, regarding the theory of evolution as well as classical forms of both *dhruvapada* and *kheyāl* or *khyāl*, yet I have

dealt with them carefully, citing passages from the dependable Sanskrit treatises. I am indebted to the reputed scholars, like Thākur Jaideva Singh and Paṇḍit S. N. Ratanjankar in this respect. I have quoted freely their rational and historical views, regarding the evolution and genuine types of *dhruvapada* and *khyāl*. from their papers, read in the Symposiums of the A.I.R., New Delhi, in 1960 and 1961.

The chapter XIII has been devoted to the study of theory and problem of acoustics of music. There I have set forth the views of different Western scientists and noted musicologists both of the East and the West. Therein I have also endeavoured to prove that the vibrations of sound units are the cause of evolution of musical tones and tunes as well their colours. Regarding the number of colour-vibrations of tones and tunes, the reputed psychologist, Prof. Woodworth has said: "As the red end of the spectrum, the wave length of the light is 760 millionths. In between are waves of very intermediate length, appearing to the eye as orange, yellow, green and blue, with all their transitional hues. A wave-length of 600 gives yellow, one of 500 gives green, one of 470 gives blue, etc." Prof. Taine has also supported Prof. Woodworth, while he has said: "An increase of speed and diminution of lengths in the waves are sufficient to determine the vibrations which our sensation of colour undergoes in passing from red to violet. * * Helmholtz distinguishes these following successive colours—red, orange, golden, yellow, pure yellow, green, blue of water, cyanic blue, indigo, violet and ultraviolet". Helmoltz's determinations of the vibration-units of C_1, C, D, E, F, G, A, B, c, d, e, f, g, a, b, $c,^1$ $c,^2$ $c,^3$ $c,^4$ are 32, 64, 72, 80, $85\frac{1}{3}$, 90, $106\frac{1}{3}$, 120, 128, 144, 160, $170\frac{2}{3}$, 192, $213\frac{1}{3}$, 240, 256, 512, 1024, 2048 per second.

Mr. M.A. Bjerregward has mentioned about the colours of tones of the European music in his book, *Great Mother*. The vibration-units of Indian musical tones, Sa, Re, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni/Sá are 240, 270, 300, 320, 360, 405, 450/480. The lengths of the wires of a *veeṇā* from the bridge are 1, $\frac{8}{9}$, $\frac{4}{5}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{16}{27}$, $\frac{8}{15}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and their cents have been enumerated as, $204+182+112+204+182+112=1200$. It can be mentioned in this connection that some musicologists determine the vibration-units of the Indian tones as, 256, 288, 320, 341⅓, 384, 426, 480 per second. Questionnaires may be raised as to the definite units of vibrations of the tones, but it *is* a fact that the Indian method of determining the vibration-units of the tones has been adopted from the European system.

The chapter XIV of the book deals with the iconography of Indian music. There it has been shown that the melodic-types (*rāgas*) have been regarded as the *icons* or symbols of their presiding deities. Though the conception of the *icons* is not very ancient, as it evolved in the 16th-17th century A.D., yet Indian seers in the sphere of music are fully aware of the divine forms of the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*, and they are confident that through the medium of *rāgás* and *rāgiṇis*, the devout artistes and sincere lovers of music attain the realization of the *sura* or *nāda-Brahman*.

In the chapter XV, I have dealt with the main problems of aesthetic-cum-psychology of music. Wherein it has been shown that unless and until the aesthetic and psychological qualities of tones and tunes are realized through the ecstatic vision of the artistes and audiences of music, appreciation of music is not possible. The dictionary meaning of 'aesthetics' is an appreciation of the Beautiful, in accordance with principles of good taste. Profs. Vivas and Krieger have

said: "Aesthetics is the name customarily given to the theoretical and systematic exploration of the questions which arise when men reflect on their interest in the beauty of nature and the products of the fine arts". In fact, the sense of beauty or appreciation of the Beautiful brings with it the idea of aesthetics.

Kant has elaborately discussed about the problem of aesthetics from different angles of vision in his *Critique of Judgement*. In the 'Critique of Aesthetical Judgement', Kant has discussed fully the analytic of the Beautiful, judgement of taste, the analytic of the Sublime, the Beautiful and the art of a genius, dialectic of analytical judgement and other things. The fundamental principles underlying the procedure of *Critique of Judgement* is seen to be that of the purposiveness of nature, and nature is everywhere adapted to ends or purposes, and thus constitutes a well-ordered whole. The taste is the faculty of judging of an object and the object satisfaction is called beautiful. In other words, it can be said that the beautiful is that which, apart from concepts, is represented us the object of a universal satisfaction. But Kant has laid stress, anyhow or other, on the intellectual satisfaction of beauty of art. But the Indian philosophers think it in a different way. They say that intellectual satisfaction only prepares the ground of spiritual satisfaction or feeling of fine arts, and it is not the be-all and end-all of the artiste life. So, until and unless the spiritual satisfaction or spiritual intuition is reached, so long work of art fails to satisfy the real purpose.

In this book, I have discussed briefly about the psychological and aesthetic problems of music mainly from the Indian viewpoint, and have shown that psychological analysis as well as aesthetic appreciation of the divine

emotional sentiments (*rasas*) of the musical tones (*svaras*) and tunes (*rāgas*) bring unto the artistes and the art-loving listeners the realization of the Beautiful and the Sublime of Indian music. Now the students of the Kantian philosophy are well-acquainted with an agreement and a disagreement between the two prime principles, the Beautiful and the Sublime, as according to Immanual Kant, the Beautiful implies form and limitation, whereas the Sublime may be found in an object which is formless and unlimited, and for this reason, the Sublime is recognised as great. But, in the Upaniṣads of India, we find a beautiful epithet of the Brahman, known as *satyaṃ-śivaṃ-sundaraṃ*. There the combined attributes, truth, peace and beauty constitute the staff of the Brahman. But in the strict sense of logic, the attributed Brahman is with form and, therefore, limited. The Advaita Vedānta states that the Brahman with the attributes is determinate Brahman (*saguṇa-Brahman*), and so it should be taken that the Upaniṣadic epithet, *satyaṃ-śivaṃ-sundaraṃ* first points the determinate Brahman (*saguṇa-Brahman*) and then, symultaneously, the indeterminate Brahman (*nirguṇa-Brahman*). From the strict Advaita Vedāntic standpoint, both the phases of the Brahman are essentially one and the same. So, if a sincere artist gets an intuitive perception of the sublime beauty of his created art, he will realize the Beautiful, and that is the prime achievement of fine arts.

The symbols or symbolic representations are as old as the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. It has already been said that in the Upaniṣads, different kinds of symbols have been prescribed for realizing the divinity of the Brahman. In the *Pātañjala-darśana*, Ṛṣi Patañjali has prescribed the *Praṇava* as the symbolic representation of the Brahman. Regarding

the attitude towards symbols, St. Kramrisch has said in her *Indian Sculpture* (1933): "Indian plastic sense is averse to the symbol, which is the substitute for a reality. The un-formed clamours for form, for this is the way which it shows its reality. Symbols are ready-made and block the approach of the unformed towards form. They stand in the way of creation. If in ancient Indian sculpture, of the Indus civilization and in the Mauryan age, animal or plant were represented in lieu of the corresponding divinity, they were meant to tee vāhanas, i.e. vehicles of the divinity, and not abstracts or parts of its appearence, such as foot-prints or hair relics, or of its presence, such as the seat or the walk (*caṅkrama*), in the case of the Buddha. * * The sacred tree, alone amongst the symbols for the Buddha, has maintained some of these earlier qualities. * * Symbols again play a considerable part in later centuries. But then they are additional attributes to figures of devinities, themselves endowed with form. Wheel, flame, lemon, lotus, etc. held in the hands by various devinities, are part of their apparel, and belong to the same category as crown, scarf or armlet. Nor do they then stand for an entire reality, they support only one of its many qualities, objectified and rationalised".

Not only the Hindus, Buddhists and Roman Catholic Christians, but also all the civilized nations of the world, including the Romans, Greeks, Egyptians and Persians used and still use symbols for their choosen deities and gods and Saviours. The ancient Egyptians used a *Tāu-Cross* or *Crux Ansātā*. The Christians use the cross, fish, serpent, rose, dove, lamb, eagle, egg, etc. as the symbols of Christ and Easter (cf. Swāmī Abhedānanda: *Necessity of Symbols*). J. M. Robertson has said that in

the Mithraic cult, the bull slain by Mithra, the Sun-god, was the symbol of the earth and moon; Mithra slaying the bull was meant the rays of the sun penetrating the earth. Besides, lamb, ram, rose, etc. were used as the symbols of Mithra, the Sun-god. In India, different trees, fruits and animals were used as the symbols of the gods. Harold Bayley has mentioned in the *Lost Language of Symbolism* (vols. I & II, 1912) different symbols of different gods of different nations. So symbols are the mediums or signs for signifying the real objects behind them, and in music, symbols of birds, beasts have been used to signify seven tones or *svaras*, and different paintings and pictures have been used to signify the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*, which have been regarded as the *nāyakas* and *nāyikās*.

Prof. Percy C. Buck says in his *Psychology for Musicians* (1945): "For musicians it will be sufficient to realize that we develop from children, who judge by the easy recognition of melody and rhythm, into more sophisticated beings who look for the feeling embodied in the form; from the tune to which our itching feet insist on beating time, to the hidden meaning, behind the quite phrase which once may have seemed so pointless and unexciting. And one of the greatest contributions that Psychology makes to Civilization—which means the education of man in the mass—is by pointing out that all education, in any subject, must aim at grasping the inner meaning instead of confining our attention to the outward appearance". Percy Buck has dealt with different problems like reaction, habit, commonsense of technique, ideas and association, interest, attention, memory, appreciation, will, meaning of education, element

of thinking and utility of the knowledge of psychology in the field of music, and we think that these are essential things for the knowledge of the musicians and music-loving listeners.

Though I have not discussed particularly about the aesthetic qualities like emotional sentiments and moods (*rasas* and *bhāvas*) of different *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*, as enumerated by the musicologist, Hanuman, yet I have mentioned the basic principles of the asethetic qualities of the tones and tunes of Indian music with their specific characteristic and applicability. As I have already discussed in the Appendix of my book, *Rāga-O-Rūpa (Melody and Form)*, vol. I, the aesthetics of the six *rāgas* and thirty *rāgiṇīs*, so I have refrained from recapitulating them in this book. Lālā Kānnoo Mal, M.A. has discussed this problem elaborately in his book, *Kāma-Kalā*, which was published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore in 1931. I have followed him in my *Rāga-O-Rūpa*.

Now take me the privilege of quoting some portions of 'some notes on Hindu erotics' from his book, *Kāma-kalā*, where he has said: "In no other country has the feeling of Love been so minutely observed, studied, analysised, classified and elaborated into an exalted science as in India. Its whole domain has been assiduously and patiently explored, its innermost recesses have been opened up and ransacked, its most hidden secrets wrung out and displayed to the public gaze. The erotic sentiments has, in India, formed the background of illumination to all its poetical, dramatic and theoretical literature; and it is under its mild, soft and inspiring light that the most exquisite productions of Hindu literature have bloomed into their splendour. All the beauties of fine arts of India are so many,

variegated, and myriad-tint prisms to reflect the soft, subtle and gentle rays of Love's far-off radience behind them".

Regarding the fundamental cause (*ālambaṇa-vibhāva*) of the erotic sentiment, he has said that it is the most important of all the divisions of this feeling. It is the fundamental basis on which the manifestation of the abiding feeling of love depends. Lālā Kānnoo Mal has said: "This cause consists of a man or a woman, which is as it were, the receptacle of the feeling of love. The classification of men or heroes with reference to this sentiment is four-fold; viz,

Dhīralalita	light-hearted;
Dhīrapraśānta	calm and tranquil-minded;
Dhīraudātta	exalted or noble-hearted, and
Dhīrauddhata	vehement.

Each of them is four varieties; viz,

Dakṣiṇa	clever, one who is kind to his sweet heart;
Dhṛṣṭa	deceitful, one shameless towards his previous love;
Śaṭha	wicked. one who hides his unfaithfulness;
Anukūla	One faithful to only a single lady-love".

Similarly Nāyikās or heroines have been classified from different points of view. The classifications are:

1. Classification of heroines with reference to their moods and relations with the heroes. The classification from this standpoint is eight or tenfold, Prositapatikā, Abhisārikā and others.

2. Classification of heroines with reference to their

positions, such as *uttamā* (excellent), *madhyamā* (middling) and *adhamā* (bad).

3. Classification based on the moods of heroines arising from their self-conceit, haughtiness and personal beauty, such as Premagarvitā—one proud of her love; Rūpagarvitā—one proud of her beauty; Māninī—one addicted to affected resentment.
4. Classification based on sex physiology, such as Padminī (the Lotus women); Chitrānī (the Variegated woman), and Hastinī (the Elephant woman). They are in descending order of merit".

"The classification of heroes and heroine", he has said, "given in the Hindu works on Dramaturgy and Erotic are considered to be artificial and fanciful by some critics, but this criticism arises more from their lack of intimate knowledge of love psychology than from its minute study. * * All great dramatists and poets, irrespective of caste, colour and clime, have portrayed them in their own way...".

In fact, *śṛṅgāra* is the prime sentiment, and this sentiment is the cause of awakening the attitude of detachment (*nirveda*) in men. The *śṛṅgāra*, the prime sentiment is divided into *vipralambha* and *sambhoga*. The *vipralambha* is manifested as delightful enjoyment or *sambhoga*, *pūrvarāga*, *māna* and *prema-vicitya*. The first quality, *sambhoga* is again divided into two, primary (*mukhya*) and secondary (*gauṇa*) ones. In fact, the primary sentiments are manifested as $8 \times 8 = 64$ qualities. The Nāyaka and Nāyikās (*rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*) manifest themselves in the *māna* quality in eight states, and they are known as *abhisārikā*, *vāsakasajjā*, *utkaṇṭṭhitā*, *vipralabdhā*, *kaṇḍitā*, *kalahantaritā*, *proṣitabhatṛkā* and *svādhīnabhatṛkā*. Bharata has beautifully described eight kinds of primary sentiments

and their different manifestations. Bharata, Kavi Kālidās, Kavi Jayadev as well as most of the Ālamkārikas have described *śṛṅgārarasa* as *ādirasa* (prime sentiment), as has been said before. In his *Ujjalanilamaṇi*, Rūpa Goswāmi has mentioned about different aesthetic manifestations and attitudes of the Nāyakas and Nāyikās. He has said that the Nāyakas (*rāgas*) are divided into four *dhīralalita*, *dhīraśānta*, *dhīroddhata* and *dhīrodātta*. Like the Nāyakas (or *rāgas*), the Nāyikās (*rāgiṇīs*) too are manifested mainly into two, *svakīyā* and *parakīyā*. The *parakīyā* Nāyikās are also divided into two, *kanyā* and *paroḍhā*. Again among *svakīyā*, *parakīyā* and *kanyā* Nāyikās (*rāgiṇīs*), *svakīyā* one is divided into three, *mugdhā*, *madhyā* and *pragalbhā*. Further the Ālaṁkārikas have divided *madhyā* and *pragalbhā* Nāyikās (*rāgiṇīs*) into *dhīrā*, *adhīrā* and *dhīrādhīrā*. These later Nāyikā *rāgiṇīs* are also divided into different forms.

The ancient musicologist, Hanuman has divided the principal *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* into 6+6 × 5 = 36, and they are,

1. Bhairava...Madhyamādī, Bhairavī, Bāṅgālī, Barāṭī, Saindhavī.
2. Mālava-kauśika...Toḍī, Khambāvatī, Gaurī, Guṇakrī, Kakubhā.
3. Hindola...Velāvalī, Rāmakrī, Desākhyā, Paṭamañjarī, Lalitā.
4. Dīpaka...Kedārī, Kānāḍā, Deśī, Kāmodī, Nāṭikā.
5. Śrī...Vāsantī (Vasanta), Mādhavī, Mālaśrī, Dhānaśrī, Āsāvarī.
6. Megha...Mallārī, Desakarī, Bhupālī, Gurjarī, Tānkī.

Among these main Nāyakas and Nāyikās (*rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*), the six Nāyaka *rāgas* manifest themselves as *dhīralalita*, *dhīraśānta*, *dhiroddhata* and *dhirodātta*, and the

thirty Nāyikā *rāgiṇīs* manifest themselves in the states of *abhisārikā*, *vāsakasajjā*, *utkaṇṭṭhitā*, *vipralabdhā*, *khaṇḍitā*, *kalahantaritā*, *proṣitabhatṛkā* and *svādhinabhatṛkā*. Their permanent sentiments (*sthāyī-rasas*) like *śṛṅgāra*, *sambhoga-śṛṅgāra*, *vipralambha-śṛṅgāra*, etc. also differ. These sentiments and their states or moods (*rasas* and *bhāvas*) are the object of feeling (*anubhava*), and the Sādhaka-artistes as well as the audiences enjoy celestial peace and delight through them, and in this way, their minds are prepared due to the concentrated attention to the divine feeling which enables them to attain gradually the realization of the *Śabda-Brahman*, which is in essence the transcending Ātman.

It should be mentioned in this connection that most of the authors of music, both Hindu and Muslim, described the emotional sentiments (*rasas*) and moods (*bhāvas*), together with the *nāyaka-nāyikā-bhāvas* of the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*, in the Muhammedan period. Some of the Persian scholars, administrators and courtiers translated some books on music in Persian language, and some of them compiled or composed the music works independently in Persian. As for example, Fakīr Ullāḥ, who lived during the reign of the Emperors, Shāh Jāhan and Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr, translated the *Mānkutūhal* in Persian language. It is said that the work, *Mānkutūhal* was composed or compiled by the order of Rājā Mān Singh (1486-1517 (A. D.) of Gwālior, and the book was named after him. Fakīr Ullāḥ named the translation (of the *Mānkutūhal*) the *Rāgadarpaṇa*. In the fifth chapter of the *Rāgadarpaṇa*, Fakīr Ullāḥ described the emotional sentiments as well as aesthetic characters of the *rāgas* (*nāyakas*) and *rāgiṇīs* (*nāyikās*), after giving the descriptions of the musical

instruments. From this it is understood that during Rājā Mān and his noted *dhruvapada* singers, the emotional characters of the *rāgas* were strictly observed. The Persian book, *Rāgadarpaṇa* was again translated in Hindī by Hariharnivās Dvivedī of Gwālior, and was published by the Vidyāmandir, Murār, Gwālior in 1954, with detailed historical accounts, by the name of *Mānsingh Aur Mānakutūhal*, and it has recently been translated in Bengali by Shri Rājyeśwar Mitra of Calcutta.

Similarly Mīrzā Khān compiled the Persian work on music, *Tuhphātul-hind*, probably in the middle of the 17th century A. D., and in the chapters, third and fourth of this book, he described the emotional sentiments (*rasas*) as well as the aesthetic characters (*nāyaka-nayika-bhāvas*) of the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*. This Persian book has recently been translated in Bengali by Shri Rājyeśwara Mitra and has been published (together with the Bengali tranalation of the *Rāgadarpaṇa*) in book form by the Lekhak-Samavāya-Samiti, Calcutta-26, by the name of '*Mughal Bhārater Saṅgeet-cintā*'. Rādhā Mohan Sen of Bengal mentioned also the name of *Tuhphātul-hind* in his Bengali book on music, *Sangeet-taraṅga* (cf. pp. 130-132).

Hākim Mohammad Karam Imām, a Courtier of Wājid Āli Shāh of Lucknow also touched slightly the aesthetic sentiments of the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇis* in his Persian book, *Ma'adnul Moosique*, written in 1856. Some portions of this book, *Ma'adnul Moosique* have been translated in English by Govind Vidyārthī and were published in the Sangeet Nāṭak Bulletins of October, 1956 and April, 1960.

Let me further mention, in this connection, about the informative book, *History of Indo-Pāk Music* (Decca, 1962)

by Dr. Ābdul Hālim, the Professor and Head of the Dapartment of History in the Decca University. The learned author has efficiently discussed about various historical materials of music, including most of the fragments of the Persian books : (1) *Rāg-darpaṇ* of Faqirullāh and (2) *Mauj-i-Musiqi* of Muhammed Lā'l Khān Barni. His discussion on the *Origin and Evolution of Khiyāl in Pāk-India* (pp. 66-75) is informative. Dr. Hālim is of opinion: *Khiyāl* is created with the Perso-Arab Music which the Umayyad and Abdasid Caliphate developed during the early Middle Ages. * * My thesis will have proved that *Khiyāl* or ornate music is not really the invention of a master musician. It is the true product of Muslim culture so far as its origin is connected. It is for this very reason that whoever revived this art-form has been designated as its inventor. And it on this very account that many writers on music and practical musicians say that Āmir Khusraw of Delhi was its inventor, and others concede this place to Husain Shāh Shrqī" (pp. 62. 75). Dr. Hālim has also mentioned about the names of the celebrated musicians of the Muslim Period.

Now, regarding the realization of *rasa* as the prime aim of the practice of music, it can be said that though the Vaiṣṇava mystics uphold the doctrine "*rasa vai saḥ*" i.e. 'the emotional sentiment is the ultimate reality,' yet it should be taken that the realization of *rasa* (*parama-rasānubhūti*) in music is only the highest footstep towards the achievement of the supreme principle, Ātman and not the Self-realization (*ātmānubhūti*) in itself,. and through the highest footstep of *rasānubhūti*, the *ātmānubhūti* is afterwards reached and attained. It is the prime aim of Indian psychology as well as of Indian philosophy to realize the

Ātman or nāda-Brahman, the *summum bonum* of human life. This realization of the Ātman or nāda-Brahman can really be said to be an immediate awareness of the Absolute (*pratyakṣa brahmānubhūti*), and this realization can only free the music artistes and audiences from the chain of delusion or *māyā*. So it is a fact that the psychological aspect of music can lead the Śādhakas to the sacred temple of realization of the higher Self and thus helps them to make free from the deceitful world or *saṁsāra*.

In chapter XVI, I have dwelt with the sublime philosophical ideas of music, which is divine and at the same time essential to the life of the artistes. It is a fact that when the Sādhaka-artistes and the sympathetic listeners realize the real essence of the *nādatattva*, they dive deep into the mysterious *kāmakalā* or *kuṇḍalinī*, and come to know at last its secret. The *will-to-know* or urge for knowledge of the ideal of music stirs the sleeping coiled *kuṇḍalinī* or subconscious mind, and, consequently, gives a start for the ascend of the divine basic energy. Then gradually the awakened energy penetrates all the force-centres of the body (of the spinal cord) and finally reaches the thousand-petalled lotus of the *sahasrāra*, the seat of the all-consciousness Paramaśiva, and then the Sādhaka-artistes and the sincere music-listeners feel divine communion of the *jīvātman* and the *Paramātman*. They then attain the fruition of the *nāda-sādhanā*, which enables them to cut asunder the knots of nescience and realize the transcendent Brahman. And this state can be said to be the ultimate achievement (*paramā prāpti*) of the practice of music.

In the *Saṅgītaśāstra*, it is also mentioned: "*śiva-śakti-samāyogāt rāgānāṃ udbhabo bhavet*" or "*śambhu-śakti-*

samjoga ta, pragaṭe saṭvidhi rāga; pañca-pañca mukha te bhaye, chatau sibā-mukha-bhāga," i.e. the *rāgas* evolved from the communion of *Śiva* and *Śakti*. This conception is purely a Tāntric one. Besides it, there is a Vaiṣṇava conception, and it has been explained in the chapter sixteen of this book. Now, the Tāntric interpretations of the above *śloka* and the *dohā* are that, according to the *Tantraśāstra*, Śiva is *prāṇa* (or *prāṇaśakti*) and Śakti is *vāk* (or *nāda*). The melodic forms or *rāgas* are the combinations of tones (*svaras*), which are no other than the sweet and soothing sound-units. The sound is known as *nāda*, and it appears as letters (*varṇa*) and sound (*dhvani*). The melodic forms or *rāgas* are, in truth, the sounds, having bodies of letters (*varṇas* like sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni). So when the *prāṇa* or *prāṇaśakti* vibrates ('*spandate*') by will-power (*icchāśakti*) of the artistes (Sādhakas), sounds (*nādas*) originate or emanate, and when those sounds are arranged in different orders or patterns, different kinds of melodic forms or *rāgas* evolve, and they please the minds of all the living beings. To make this idea more explicit, let me quote some lines from the book, *Sādhanā for Self-realization* by Swāmī Pratyagātmānanda Saraswatī and Sir John Woodroffe (1963). It has been said in connection with the *mantra-sādhanā*: "*Śabda* is *Śakti*. The *Viśvasāra-Tantra* (Ch. II) says that *Śabda-brahman* which is *Mantra* (*Mantramaya*) exists in the body of *Jīva* and is the subtle aspect of the *Jīva's* vital *Śakti*. As the *Prapañcasāra-Tantra* states, the *Brahmāṇḍa* or Spheroid (universe) is pervaded by *Śakti* as *Dhvani*, called *Nāda*, *Prāṇa* and the like. * * *Śabda* is the *Guṇa* of *Ākāśa*, but is not produced by it. It manifests in it; and *Śabda-svarūpa* is the Brahman. In the same way, however, as in outer space waves of sound are produced by

movements of air (*Vāyu*), so in the space within the *Jīva's* body, waves of sound are produced according to the movements of the vitāl air (*Prāṇavāyu*) and the process of inhalation and exhalation. The *Śabda* which first appears in Mulādhāra (See A. Avalon's *Serpent Power*) is, in fact, the *Śakti* which gives life to *Jīva*. The *Jīva* who inbreathes and outbreathes utters a great *Mantra*. * * *Śakti* it is who is the Cause of the sweet, indistinct and murmuring *Dhvani* which sounds like the humming of black bees. This sound is *Parā*, and then *Paśyantī*, which becomes subtle as *Madhyamā* and gross as *Vaikharī*. Kuṇḍalinī, who is *Varṇamayī* and *Dhvanimayī*, is the manifestation in bodies of the *Paramātmā*".

In the *Japasūtram* (English edition, 1961), Swāmī Pratyagātmananda Saraswatī has further said, in connection with *Vāk* and *Prāṇa*: "If the creative 'formula' be *vāk*, then what formulates, is *prāṇa*. * * *Prāṇa* is abstract and uncreative without *vāk*; and *vāk* is empty and dead without *prāṇa*. They consort and operate conjointly. They are the First Creative 'Pair' of which this universe and all possible universes are 'progeny'.

"In Sanskrit, *prāṇa* is a masculine word and *vāk* feminine. * * *Prāṇa* instils the creative *élan* in the original 'stuff' of existence; *vāk* evolves this 'stuff' into created form. * * So *prāṇa* consorts with *vāk* when, from this union, the *bindu* or *bīja* appears. Evidently *vāk* is not word or sound as we apprehend it. It is the matrix function, the 'causal stress' as we have before called it, by which the fundamental plenum of Power is evolved into general as well as special 'origins' or centres of functioning. *Vāk* is, so to say the 'Mother's womb' into which *prāṇa* enters as the necessary flow and fund of power in order to make it evolve into multiple forms and patterns".

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Therefore, it may be said that discussions on mere skelital forms of tonal arrangement of the melodies and their essentials, their *mūrcchanās* and *alaṁkāras* only throw light on the theoretical side of music, but cannot go deep into its core, and, consequently, the artistes and lovers of music fail to appreciate the real import as well as the divine essence of music. Therefore, music should be approached not only from the historical standpoint, but also from the spiritual standpoint as well.

In some of the occasions, I got privileges to meet Paṇḍit Jaharlāl Nehru and at every occasion, I was charmed to see his great personality, cheerful appearance and sweet and loving nature. In one occasion, I presented him some books of mine and of my Master, Swāmi Abhedānanda, which he received with great interest and eagerness. Now I am taking the opportunity of dedicating this new book to his sweet and loving memory.

In conclusion, I express my deep sense of gratitude and ragard to Dr. V. K. Nārāyaṇa Menon, the Secretary of the Saṅgeet Nāṭak Ākādemi, New Delhi, for his learned Foreword to this book. He is a man of rare intellect and learning and is efficient in South Indian music. I feel pride to include his learned 'Foreword' in my book. I am indebted to Dr. B. C. Deva, for giving me some valuable suggestions about the musical instruments that are depicted in different Hindu and Buddhist Cave temples of India. I express my heartful thanks to Shri Subodh Kumar Chatterji, B.A. for going through the final copy of the manuscript of this book. I am indebted to Shri Manorañjan Mazumdar, the proprietor of the "Ānandadhārā Prakāśan" for encouraging me in writing and publishing this book. I offer my thanks to Messrs Calcutta Oriental Press

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SWĀMI PRAJÑĀNĀNANDA

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January, 1965

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Appendix I

Appendix II

CORRECTIONS:

1. Read Kumāra B. K. Roychoudhury instead of Kumāra B. N. Roychoudhury in the pages 185 and 217,
2. Read *The Development and Culture of the Kheyāl in Bengal* (sub-heading) instead of *The Development and Culture of Dhruvapada in Bengal* in the page 219.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A historical study of Indian music is meant to unravel the mystery of different grades of evolution of Indian music in different periods. It affords a man free scope for visioning the genuine structure, type and temparament of songs and melodies, musical instruments and dances, prevailing in different times. India has a glorious tradition of history of her achievements in the field of plastic art, painting, music, architecture, science, literatute, poetry, philosophy and religion, bearing on each of them the stamp of distinctive trait, quality as well as of spirit. India also did not lag behind in making history of music, dating from the most ancient primitive period up to the present time. The history of Indian music is full of materials of music, and they can be classified under different heads: firstly, the treatises on music, written by different authors of different times, which can be taken as the principal materials of constructing an authentic history of Indian music. Secondly, the rock-cut temples and inscriptions, caused to be excavated and engraved by different rulers of different times, together with the sculptures, paintings, copper-plates and coins of different periods. Thirdly, the writings of foreign writers on music as well as the history of music of other nations. Fourthly, the private diaries of the musicians and the musicologists, the local traditions transmitted orally, folklores and fables of music. All these should be properly studied in their historical perspectives, should be consulted for comparative study as well as

for corroboration of facts, dates and forms of evolution of materials of music, musical instrument and dance. These landmarks are distinctive stages in the development of the art of music, and they may be divided into major and minor ones. Evolution of music emerged from the concepts of tones and tunes, along with rhythm, and the emergence of tones and tunes were possible from the minute tones or microtones and their arrangements. So the problems of tones and tunes, along with the evolution of registers and scales, perception of consonance and dissonance, emergence of the concept of the melodies (*rāgas*) and their classifications, evolution of *mūrcchanā*, *varṇa*, *alaṁkāra*, *tāna*, *aṅga*, *ālāpa* or *ālapti*, the manifestation of different musical phrases (*sthāyas*) and compositions (*prabandhas*), the evolution of musical instruments like drum, flute, and lute, along with the question of origin of *mela*, or *melakartā*, masculine and feminine characters of the *rāgas*, and the evolution of contemplative compositions (*dhyānamālās*) and pictures (*rāgamūrtis*) are the distinctive features in the study of history of Indian music.

In order to study the history of Indian music, it is imperative to divide the whole range of culture and civilization of India into several periods like pre-Vedic (primitive and prehistoric), Vedic, Hindu, Buddhist, Mohammedan, British and post-British, i.e. Modern. But these divisions do not appear to be adequate, as some of the periods, specially the Hindu and the Buddhist ones overlap each other, and it is, therefore, difficult to represent precisely music of those two periods. So it is better to divide the whole range of Indian history as well as the history of Indian music into three broad periods, ancient, mediaeval and modern.

In the history of India, we find that the civilized merchants or Panis really built the grand structure of culture and civilization of the prehistoric Indus Valley of the remote past. Some hold that these builders were the Aryans, nay the Vedic Aryans themselves, who were the original dwellers of India and never came from Central Asia or from any other parts outside of India. Others are of opinion that the original builders of the prehistoric Indus civilization were the Dravidians and not the Vedic Aryans. Opinions may differ, but we get ample evidence of the practice of music and dance, as obtaining in the prehistoric Indus Valley civilization. The archaeological excavations of different ancient sites in India, which are considered by experts to be continuation of the Indus civilization and culture, disclcse the fact that even in that remote age of 5,000 or 4,000-2,500 B.C., the people were most civilized, artistic and cultured, and they were well-conversant with the art of playing flute and lutes (*vaṁśī* and *veeṇā*) and different types of drums (*mṛdaṅgas*). But unfortunately we do not know the exact type and technique of their music and dancing, for dearth of definite system of notation and historical records.

In the Ṛgvedic age (3,000-2,500 B.C.), we come across proofs of political, social and religious organizations among the Aryan people. Their vast literature undoubtedly prove that they were the most advanced people of the day. They used to perform sacrifices and sacred rites, and used to sing songs with different tones on those occasions. The rules and regulations, governing the songs, are found in the *Śīkṣās*, *Prātiśakhyas* and the *Brāhamaṇa* literature, and they also contain copious references of music of the Vedic time. Different kinds of lute (*veeṇā*) and

drum have also been described in the Vedic literature. The *veeṇā* with hundred strings (*vāṇa*) and *kāśyapī* or *kacchapī*, *piccholā*, *kṣauṇī*, etc. and primitive drums like the *bhumi-dundubhi*, *dundubhi*, etc. were used by the Vedic singers. The references are also found about dances, songs and musical instruments in the later Sūtra literature. Profs. Macdonell, Keith, Winternitz, Caland, Burnell, Jacobi, Waber, Śāstrī, Āpte and others have mentioned about both vocal and instrumental music, while discussing the Vedic literature. In the classical and the post-classical periods, many new types of *veeṇā* like *dāravī*, *gātra*, *citrā*, *vipañcī*, *raudrī*, *kūrmī*, *brāhmī*, *kātyāyaṇī*, etc. and drums like *puṣkara*, *bhāṇḍa*, *paṇava*, *mṛdaṅga*, etc also evolved.

While commenting on the *Gṛhyasūtra*, Dr. Āpte has made references about music that was cultured by the Vedic people. He has said: "Music or *saṅgeeta* of all three types (*'nṛtyaṃ*, *gītaṃ ca vāditraṃ'*) as well as chariot races and gambling continued to be the principal amusements of this (*Sūtra*) period". In the *Sāmaveda* (1. 22. 11) and the *Āśvalāyaṇa-gṛhyasūtra* (1. 14), we find descriptions of lute playing, dancing and singing, in connection with the *simantonnayana* ceremony. It is, therefore, proved that the Vedic people did systematically culture the art of music. The later Hindu society of India borrowed music from the pre-Vedic and Vedic people thus leaving behind a tradition of culture that enriched the art of music of India.

Now it may be taken for granted that Vedic music was much more developed and systematic with its fixed tones and scales, and that the pre-Vedic and Vedic music owed much to the undeveloped system of music of the most ancient primitive people. The diggings of the mounds of

the prehistotic Indus Valley cities have astounded the people of the world, by furnishing some crude types of pipe, lute (*veeṇā*) and drum of different sizes, together with the bronze figurine of a nude dancing girl, which prove the practice of music in the society at least five thousand years ago. The Vedic literature also furnishes various references of Vedic music. By 'Vedic music' we mean the *sāmans* with tunes. When the ṛc stanzas were set to tones and tunes, they were called the Vedic music, *sāmagāna*. The *sāmans* used to be sung in different forms in different Vedic recensions (*śākhās*). The *Puṣpasūtra* and the *Nāradīśīkṣā* have fully described about those recensions and different methods of singing. The Vedic tones were used in the Vedic songs, and they were *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *caturtha*, *mandra* (*pañcama*), *atisvārya* (*ṣaṣṭha*) and *kruṣta* (*saptama*). The tones of the Vedic music were in downward movement (*avarohaṇa-krama*). Generally three, four, five and six tones were used in the *sāmagāna*, and seven tones were used by the followers of the *Kauthuma* recension.

The *sāmans*, as mentioned in the Vedas and the Vedic literature, were the songs, set to tunes. According to Jaimanī, the songs were but the internal efforts (*abhyantara-prayatna*) of the priestly class: "*gītirnāma kṛyābhayantara-prayatna-janita-svara-viśeṣāṇāṃ-abhivyañjikā sāma-śabdābhilāpyā*". Sāyaṇa, the commentator, has said that the *sāmans* were the songs, constituted out of the ṛc stanzas and the tones like *kruṣta*, *prathama*, etc.: "*sāma-śabdavācyasya gānasya svarūpamṛgakṣareṣu kruṣṭādibhiḥ saptabhiḥ svaraiḥ akṣara-vikārādibhyaśca niṣpādyate/kruṣṭaḥ prathamo dvitīyastṛtīya-caturthaḥ pañcamaḥ ṣaṣṭhaścetyete saptasvarāḥ*"/ *te cāvyan-tarabhedairvahudhā bhinnāḥ*." It is said that the *sāmans*

used to be sung with different modes and ways: "*vahubhiḥ prakārairgānātmakaṃ yat sāmasvarūpaṃ nirūpitaṃ*". Sāyaṇa has also said: "*sāmavede sahasraṃ gītyupāyāḥ*". The *sāmans* were sung according to *akṣara-vikāra* (alteration of letters) like *viśleṣaṇa*, *vikarṣaṇa*, *abhyāsa* and *virāma*. The *stobhas* used to play an important part in the singing. Jaiminī has said in the *Mīmāṅsādarśaṇa* (1. 2. 26): "*sa niyata pramāṇa ṛci gīyate / tat-'sampādanārtho ya mṛgākṣara-vikāro viśleṣo vikarṣaṇamabhyāso virāmaḥ stobha ityevamādayaḥ sarve sāmavede samānāyante*". The elongated letters like *A*.........*E*..........*I*...... ..*O*.........*U*........., etc. were known as *stobha*. In the present-day system of classical music, the *stobhas* are used with elongation of the vowels, which create vital force in the songs. To cite an example, the part of the songs: "*devadeva mahādeva gaurīpati maheśvara*", etc. when sung as "de-eva-a de-eva-a mahā-ā-de-e-va-a" etc., the elongated vowels are the *stobhas*. Regarding the *stobha*, Sāyaṇa has said: "*adhikatve satyṛg-vilakṣaṇa-varṇaḥ stobhaḥ*". The *stobha* was divided into *varṇastobha*, *padastobha and vākyastobha*. Like the processes of mutilation and elongation of the letters in the stanzas, the method of obliteration or deletion of letters (*varṇalopa* or *akṣaralopa*) in the songs were also found necessary, and so Sāyaṇa has said: "*akṣaravikāra-stobhādivat varṇalopo'pi kvacid gītiheturbhavati*". As for example, the word "*agna āyāhī*" was uttered in the singing as "*ognāyī*". This rule used to be specially observed in the *geyagāna*, *veyagāna* or *vegāna*, *yonigāna*, etc. In fact, the *sāmans* were composed and practised in different manners.

In the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*, the Vedic tones are called the '*yama*', the root meaning of which is 'to control' or 'to regulate'. So, as the tones use to control, conduct and

sustain the structure of the *sāmagāna*, they are known as '*yama*'. The word '*yama*' has been used in the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali to connote the idea of control: "*yama-niyamā-sana-prāṇāyama*", etc. In truth, the seven tones are the fountain-head of not only of the scales and modes of the *sāman* singing, but also of the later evolved *rāga*, *tāna*, *mūrcchanā*, *alaṁkāra*, *mela* or *melakartā*, *sthāya*, *prabandha*, etc. and so they are regarded as the basis or ground of music of all times.

Some are of opinion that the tones of the Indian music are borrowed from the foreign nations like the Arabs, etc., observing the similarity of names of the tones of both the systems, Indian and Arabian. But that is not the fact. The names of the Arabic tones are: *jek*, *du*, *si*, *tschār*, *peni*, *schesch*, and *heft* (=*sapta*), and they resemble the names of the Vedic tones, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *caturtha*, *pañcama*, *ṣaṣṭha*, and *saptama*. To make it explicit, it can be shown by means of the chart in a comparative manner:

VEDIC TONES

Arabic tones	Indian tones: *Sanskrit*	Indian tones: *Bengali*	European tones.
1. jek	prathama	eka	C
2. du	dvitīya	du or dui	D
3. si	tṛtīya	tin	E
4. tschār	caturtha	cār	F
5. peni	pañcama	pāñca or pañcama	G
6. schesch	ṣaṣṭha	chaya	A
7. heft	saptama	sāta	B-flat

Carl Engle's statement can be mentioned in this connection to make it more clear. He has said in his article, *On the Musical Scales of Nations*: "In the music of the Arabs, we also meet with similar intervals than our semi-tones. The notes of the Arabic scales, which are designated by the number from 1 to 7......*yek*, *du*, *si*, *tschār*, *peni*, *schesch*, *heft* (also, as in our own music, by the first seven letters of the alphabet, which are in the Arabic *ālif*, *be*, *gim*, *dal*, *he*, *wan*, *zain*) are sub-divided into seventeen one-third tones". As for example,

Yk	du	si	rschār	peni	schesch	heft
C	D	E	F	G	A	B-flat

As regards the question of borrowing of the tones of the Indian system of music from those of the Arabian system, it may alternately be taken that the Arabs incorporated in their system the names of musical tones of the Indian system of music, as there was a close relation between India and Arabia from very ancient time by means of interchange of trade and commerce. Prof. Calmet has said that before the death of the Prophet Mohammed (632 A.D.), music was current in Arabia in a developed form. The Arabs also borrowed many things from India through the medium of trade and commerce, and not only the Arabs, but all other nations of the world were also indebted to India in many respects. Greece, Rome, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Assyria, Korea, China, Japan, Germany, Russia and other ancient civilized countries enriched themselves by borrowing ideas of art, religion and philosophy from India. From the pages of the history of the world it is evident that the Greeks specially borrowed many materials of culture, art, and civilization from India

in ancient time. Dr. Lecy O' Leary has admitted that the Pythagorean elements can ultimately be traced to an Indian source.[1]

Sir John Malcolm is of opinion that the Persians borrowed many materials of music from India. He has admitted: "They (Persians) have a gamut and notes and a different description of melody, but they cannot be said to be further advanced in this science than the Indians, from whom they are supposed to have borrowed it".[2] Carl Eagle has also said in connection with his discussion on the Arabic intervals that the Persians appear to have employed at an early period similar intervals of the semi-tones. "After the conquest of Persia by the Arabs, about the middle of the seventh century of our Chrïstian era, the music of the Persians and Arabs became, so to say, amalgamated, and they are still treatises extent of early Arabian and Persian theorists, in which the system of one-third tones is exhibited. Afterwards, however, some of the Persian musicians adopted a system of twelve semi-tones in the compass of an octave, like our chromatic scale".[3]

Allain Deniélou has also discussed on the similar problem, though in a different way. He has said: "It seems that some of the conceptions, which are the basis of Hindu theory, were known in Europe at the end of the middle ages, probably not through direct influence, but by way of Egyptian and Pythagorian traditions, transmitted to the

1. Vide De Lecy O'Leary: *Arabic thought and Its Place in History*, p. 10.

2. Cf. Sir S. M. Tagore: *Universal History of Music* (1896), p. 49.

3. Vide *The Hindu Music*, pt. II, edited by Sir S. M. Tagore, p. 404.

Arabs and Byzantines".[4] Regarding the antiquity of Indian music, Swāmī Abhedānanda has said that the "Hindus first developed the science of music from the chanting of the Vedic hymns. The Sāmaveda was specially meant for music. And the scales with seven notes and three octaves were known in India centuries before the Greeks had it. Probably the Greeks learnt it from the Hindus..."[5] Allain Daniélou has set forth many reasons in favour of the antiquity of Indian music in his *Introduction to the Study of Musical Scales*. He has said: (1) "The musical system of the Greeks had certainly not originated in their country... One is bound to suppose that Pythagoras brought from the East the musical system which was adopted by country-men of Hellas. ...It was foreigners coming from India, Persia and Asia Minor the Phrygians Hyagnis, his son Marsyas and Olympus, the Thracians Lions, Thamyris and Orpheus, who imparted music to Greece. We, therefore, believe until better information is obtained, that the Hellenic tonal system had its origin in India or perhaps in China; the Greek instruments were all of Asiatic origin,......"[6] (ii) "Greek music, as it was actually played by musicians, being of modal form, is necessarily included in the definitions of ancient Hindu music,...Greek music, like Egyptian music, most probably had its roots in Hindu music, or, at least, in that universal system of modal music of which the tradition has been fully kept only by the Hindus".[7]

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4. Vide A Daniélou: *Introduction to the Study of Musical Scales* (1943), p. 139.

5. Vide *India and Her People* (1945), p. 216.

6. Cf. *Introduction to the Study of Musical Scales*, pp. 93-94.

7. Ibid., pp. 159-160.

Dr. Arnold Bake's statement has also thrown light upon this problem, though in a different way. He has said: "The Greek theory dominated the development of music in the West, to such an extent that even Church music in Russia followed rules derived from it till the most recent times, and music in the West of Europe, specially ecclesiastical, was under its sway for centuries. Whereas the whole Hellenistic world had adopted it already at the beginning of the Christian era,......". Thus from all these comments we come to the conclusion that all the ancient civilized countries of the world, drew inspiration and received impetus in the art of music from India.

In the beginning of the Christian era, some new *rāgas* and *gītis* were included in the category of formalised regional (*deśī*) type of music which flourished side by side of the *gāndharva* type of music, the nucleus of which is to be found in Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra*, and fully delineated in Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī* of the 5th-7th century A. D.

The *grāmarāgas* had their origin in the *jātis* or *jātirāgas*, having their bases in the two *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*, ("*jāti-sambhutatvāt grāmarāgāṇi*"). The *gāndhāra-grāma* fell out of practice at that time. Later on different kinds of mixed (*miśra aṅga*) *rāgas* evolved from the *grāmarāgas*. The mixture of the Aryan and the non-Aryan tunes (*rāgas*) commenced from the 3rd-5th century and continued up to the 12th-13th century A. D., and this admixture is evident in the works like *Bṛhaddeśī*, *Saṅgīta-samayasāra* and *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. The Turkish, Scythian and Persian tunes were also adopted in the stock of the Indian classical music, making them suitable to the taste and temparament of the changing society. The fusion took place mainly during the periods, 5th-7th and 11th-13th centuries A. D. The

rāgas were characterised by ten essentials like sonant, consonant, assonant, dissonant, etc., and there was a perfect consonance (*svara-samvāda*) between the notes, first and fourth and first and fifth, as was vogue in the ancient Greek music.

To give a brief account of the early form and theory of music of Greece, which were devised by Pythagoras and his dovout followers, I shall take privilege to quote most of the meterials from Prof. John Burnet's *Greek-Philosophy* (Thales to Plato), where the early Pythagorean musical and medical theories have been discussed. It may be taken as certain that Pythagoras himself discovered the numerical ratios for the determination of the concordant intervals of the scale. Pythagoras was a Samian, and he migrated to Italy 'because he disliked the rule of Palykrates'. It is said that Pythagoras flourished in 532 B.C., but as no actual dates are known, says Prof. Burnet, it is safe to say that his activity belonged mainly to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. Regarding the Pythagorean musical theory, Prof. Burnet has said that when the Greeks called certain intervals concordant, they were thinking primarily of notes, sounded in succession and not simultaneously. "In other words, the term refers to melodic progressions, and not to what we call harmonious chords. The principle is ultimately the same, indeed, but it is often of importance to remember that there was no such thing as harmony in classical Greek music, and that the word 'harmony' means in the Greek language, first 'tuning,' and then 'scale' ".

In the time of Pythagoras, says Prof. Burnet, the lyre had seven strings, and it is not improbable that the eighth was added later as the result of his discoveries. All the strings were of equal length, and were tuned to the required

pitch by tension and relaxation. This was done entirely by ear, and the first thing was to make the two outside strings (*hypatē* and *netē*) (high and low) concordant, in the sense explained, with one another, with the middle string (*mesē*), and with the string just above it (*tritē*, later *paramesē*). "The notes of these four strings were called 'stationary' and were similarly related to one another in every kind of scale; the notes of the other three (or four in the eight-stringed lyre) were 'movable', and scales were distinguished as enharmonic, chromatic and diatonic (with their varieties), according as their strings were tuned more or less closely to the same pitch by as little as what we call a quarter-tone, as much as what we call a double-tone. It is obvious that none of our scales could be played on a seven-stringed lyre, tuned to the diatonic scale, is required for them. Even in that scale, however, the Greeks did not recognise the interval we called the third as concordant."[8]

Prof. Burnet has said that it is quite probable that Pythagoras knew the pitch of notes to depend on the rate of vibrations which communicate 'beats' or pulsations to the air. That was also familiar to his successors; but neither he nor they had any means of measuring the rate of vibrations. As, however, the rate of vibration of two similar strings is inversely proportional to their length, it was possible for him to transform the problem and attack it on that side. The lyre did not immediately suggest this; for its strings were of equal length, but a few experiments with strings of unequal length would establish the truth. Prof. Burnet says that Pythagoras doubtless used a simple aparatus

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8. Vide Dr. Burnet: *Greek Philosophy* (Thales to Plato), p. 46.

consisting of a string which could be stopped at different intervals by a movable bridge, and in this way reduced the experiment to a simple comparison of lengths on a single string. The result was to show that the concordant intervals of the scale could be expressed by the simple numerical ratios 2: 1, 3: 2, and 4: 3, or, taking the lowest whole numbers which have these ratios to one another, that the four stationary notes of the lyre could be expressed thus:

6	8	9	12

To represent these four notes by those of the gamut in descending order, it can be shown,

Netē	*Paramesē*	*Mesē*	*Hypatē*
Mi	Si	La	Mi

Now we may explain the discovery of Pythagoras as follows:

(1) "When he took a length of string double that which gave the high Mi, it gave the low Mi. That is the interval which we call the octave and the Greeks called *diāpasōn*. It is expressed by the ratio 2: 1.

(2) "When he took a length of string half as long again as that which gave the high Mi, it gave La. That is the interval which we call the fifth and the Greeks called *diapente*. It is expressed by the ratio 3: 2.

(3) "When he took a length of string one-third again as long as that which gave the high Mi, it gave Si. That is the interval which we call the fourth and the Greeks called *diatessaron*. It is expressed by the ratio 4: 3.

(4) "The compass of the octave is a fifth and a fourth ($\frac{3}{2} \times \frac{4}{3} = \frac{12}{6}$), and the note which is a fifth from the *netē* is fourth from the *hypate*, and *vice versa*.

(5) "The interval between the fourth and the fifth is expressed by the ratio 9 : 8. This is called the 'tone' or pitch *par excellence* (probably from its importance in attuning the two tetrachords to one another).

(6) "As there is no (numerical) mean proportional between 1 and 2, neither the octave nor the tone can be divided into equal parts".

Now this divisions remind us the division of tones by Bbarata, by means of the *cala* (shiftable) and *acala* or *druva* (non-shiftable) *veeṇās*.

Prof. Burnet is of opinion that there is a good reason for holding that Pythagoras did not go any further than this, and no attempt was made to determine the ratios between the 'movable' notes of the tetrachord till the days of Archytas and Plato. Aristoxenos tells us that the diagrams of the older musical theorists all referred to the enharmonic scale, which proceeded by what he called quarter-tones and a double-tone; but Pythagoras could not admit the possibility of quarter-tones, since the tone did not admit of equal division. "The internal notes of the tetrachord must, then, have been regarded as of the nature of the 'unlimited', and the 'limit' was represented only by the perfect concords".

Prof. Burnet has further said: "Now if we look at the four terms which we have discovered, we shall find that 8 and 9 are related to the extremes 6 and 12 as means. The term 9, which represents the note of the *mesē*, exceeds and is exceeded by the same number, namely 3. It is what is called the arithmetical mean. On the other hand, the term 8, which represents the note of the *paramesē*, exceeds and is exceeded by the same fraction of the extremes; for $8 = 12 - \frac{12}{3} = 6 + \frac{6}{3}$. This was called the subcontrary,

or later, for obvious reasons, the harmonic mean. The geographical mean is not to be found within the compass, of a single octave".[9]

From the statement of Nārada's *Nāradīśikṣā* of the 1st century A. D., we come to know that the microtonal units (*śrutis*) were in use in both the *gāndharva* and formalised *desi* types of music. The microtonal units or microtones are the minute perceptible tones. Bharata has analysed the seven *laukika* tones, *ṣaḍja*, etc. into twenty-two minute tones (*śrutis*) on the basis of the genus-species or *jāti-vyakti* (cause-effect) theory, as devised by Nārada.

The period covering the 5th-7th century to the 13th century A. D. can be considered as the period of renaissance in the domain of Indian music, because during this period many old and new *rāgas* came into being from different sources, and they enriched the treasury of Indian classical music. The *rāgagītis* were known by their respective *rāgas* during Mataṅga's time, and many new *rāgas* and *gītis* evolved from them. The *rāgas* were determined by different *mūrcchanās*, which were again replaced by *melas* or *thātas* or *melakartās* in the 16th—17th century A. D. The intuitive authors and artists of music considered the *rāgas* as the living embodiments of divine spirit, and they made them surcharged with aesthetic or emotional sentiments and feelings (*rasa* and *bhāva*), composed the *dhyāna*-formulas, and painted their exquisite colourful pictures (*rāgamālā*), which came to be known as the visualized music. Well has it been said by Prof. O. C. Gāngoly in this connection that each *rāga* or melody was then dedicated to its own theme, its *ethos*, its presiding *genus*,

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9. Ibid., p. 48.

its *devatās*. And it was by the prayer of the adept musician, the singer, or the interpreter, who had to immerse in the theme and identify himself with it, that the *devatās*—the spirit of the *rāga* was made visible (*mūrtimanta*) in the symphonic form,—the *nādamaya rūpa*, and thus they used to visualize the image of the *rāga* in ecstatic vision.

Different kinds of musical phrases (*sthāya*) and compositions (*prabandha*) were in use even at the beginning of the Christian era, and they have been described in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* in connection with the classical dramatic performances. Mataṅga, Pārśvadeva and Śāraṅgdeva have elaborated them in a systematic and scientific way in their respective works.

The history of development of classical music of South India is also interesting. In ancient times, there was no such artificial line of demarcation, dividing the music of India into Northern and Southern categories. Probably, during the 14th-16th century A.D., Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya (1302-1387 A.D.), Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.), and Puṇḍarika Vitṭhala (1590 A.D.) flourished, and propagated the genus-species (*janya-janaka*) principle of the *rāgas*, with *mukhārī* as the standard scale (*śuddha-mela*). The system of the South Indian music gradually began to take new shape, and afterwards became different from that of the North Indian music. Afterwards Somanāth (1609 A.D.), Govinda Dīkṣit (1614 A.D.) and Veṅkaṭamakhī (1620 A.D.) flourished with a new vision. The introduction of the seventy-two *melakartās* by Govinda Dīkṣit and Veṅkaṭamakhī brought into being an altogether different mode in

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9 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

the South Indian music. But it should be mentioned in this connection that in spite of the introduction of the seventy-two *melakartās* or *thāṭas*, only nineteen out of them were practised during Veṅkaṭamakhī's time. The tonal forms of most of the *rāgas* of the South Indian system were also different from those of the North. The various *padaṃ*, *kṛti* or *kīrtanaṃ*, *varṇaṃ*, *rāgamālikā*, *pallivi*, contributed by Purandaradāsa, Kṣetrajña, Tyāgarāja, Śyāmā Śāstrī, Muthusvāmī Dīkṣitar, Svāti Tirunal and others, enriched the South Indian music.

The history of music of Bengal and Assam is equaly interesting. We learn from the history of Bengal that classical music and dance were extensively cultured during the rules of the Gupta, Pāla and Sena Kings. Bengal was then known as 'Greater Bengal,' having within its fold the modern states of Assam, Bihār, Bengal proper (Eastern and Western), and Orissa. The classical dance and music, as expounded by Muni Bharata, in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, were properly practised by the Devadāsīs or temple dancing-girls in different temples of Greater Bengal. During the reign of Maurya Chandragupta, and specially during the time of the Great Emperor Aśoka, Indian music was introduced to the Central Asian countries by way of Kashmere and Tibet, by the traders and religious missionaries. The music of the countries like Kuchi, Khāsgarh, Samarkand, and specially China were enriched by the process.

Now we find that during the 10th-11th century A.D., the classical *rāgas* and *tālas* were used in the religio-mystic songs of the Buddhist Siddhāchāryas of the Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna schools. In the early 12th century A.D., Thākur Jayadeva of Nānnur (Birbhum) composed the *Gītagovinda-padagānas*, and they were used to be

sung with different classical *rāgas* and *tālas*. The *rāgas* of the *caryāpadas* and the *gītagovinda* were different in their structures from those of the present-day system of the North Indian Hindusthānī music. But they can be sung correctly by changing the standard scale that determines the tonal forms of the *rāgas*, prevailing in these days. During the 15th-16th century A.D., Śrī Chaitanya (1485-1533) composed the *nāma-kīrtana* out of the materials of the *caryā*, *gītagovinda-padagāna*, *pāñcālī*, *kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*, *bāul* and other religio-devotional songs that were current before and in his time. The *nāma-kīrtana*, though very simple, enriched the music of Bengal by its charming pathos. The *kīrtana*-type of devotional song was composed, and used to be sung in praise of the Lord of the universe, superman, gods and goddesses, and heroes. It was known as the '*kīrti-gāthā-gāna*'. It has been described as the *prabandha-gīti*, having six limbs (*aṅgas*), in Ghanaśyāma-Narahari's *Bhakti-ratnākara*, and the *Gītacandrodaya*. The six limbs of the *kīrtigāna* or classical *kīrtana* are: *svara*, *viruda*, *pada*, *tenaka*, *tāla* and *pāta*, and they have been elaborately discussed in Śāraṅgdeva's *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, and Narahari's *Bhakti-ratnākara*. Its allied classical *prabandha-gāna* is the *kīrti-laharī-gāna* which has also been described in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*.

After Śrī Chaitanaya, Thākur Narottamadāsa (16th century A.D.) devised the *līlā* or *rasa kīrtana*, which was purely classical in form. He designed it after the *prabandha-gāna*, *dhruvapada*. The *rasa-kīrtana* was accompanied by *tālas*, which are described in Narahari's (early 17th century A.D.) *Saṅgīta-sāra-saṁgraha* and Śubhaṅkara's *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*. In course of time, there evolved different schools of *padāvalī-kīrtana* with different styles from different

parts of Bengal, and they were *garāṇhāti, reṇeti, manoharsābi, mandāriṇi, jhārkaṇḍī*, etc. In the beginning of the 20th century, Madhusudana Kinnar or Madhu Kān also devised a new type of *ḍhapa-kīrtana*, which was simple in its form, and classical in character. The 18th century was an epoch-making period in Bengal, as many of the stalwarts in the field of music, viz. Kavirañjan Rāmaprasād Sen (1720 or 1730 A. D.), Rāmanidhi Gupta or Nidhu Bābu (1741-42 to 1838-39 A. D.) and others enriched Bengal by their classico-Bengali songs. Vishṇupur (Bāṅkurā) became instrumental in infusing new spirit and inspiration into the domain of classical music in Bengal. Many of the Muslim Ustāds from Delhi and Āgrā settled in Bengal, and consequently Pāthuriāghātā (Calcutta), Muktāgāchā (Mymensingh), Daccā, Gauripur (Assam), Gobardāṅgā, Āgartolā, Chinsurāḥ, Hooghly etc. became the seats of culture of classical music in Bengal. Sir Jatindra Mohan Tagore, and his brother Sir Saurindra Mohan Tagore helped much for the spread of the culture of classical music in Calcutta and its adjacent places. The *bāul, bhātiyālī, jārī, sārī, gambhirā, tarjā, pāñcālī, kālī-kīrtana*, and other socio-religious folk songs evolved in different parts of Bengal.

Assam's contribution to the domain of Indian music is none the less. During the latter half of the 16th century A. D., Śaṅkaradeva (16th century) preached a sort of neo-Vaiṣṇavism in Assam. He and his disciple, Mādhavadeva composed *bargīta, āṅkiyā-gīta, kīrtana-ghoṣā, nāma-ghoṣā, bhātimā-gīta, payāra*, etc. in different classical *rāgas* and *tālas*. These types of music of Assam may be divided into four main groups: (a) vocal, (b) instrumental, (c) dance and (d) drama or *āṅkiyā-nāts*. (a) The vocal music is of different kinds, and they are *borgīta* (*baḍagīti*, the

great song), *aṅkiyā-gīta*, *jugal-patal*, *ghoṣā-kīrtana*, *totāi-avṛtti*, *nāmaghoṣā* and *kīrtana-ghoṣā*. These are sung with different *śāstric rāgas* and *tālas*. These are entrusted to different families and groups of people, known as Gāyanas, Bāyans, Pāṭhaks, Ojāhs, Sutradharas, Shayuha and Udhāsin Bhaktas or Kewaliā Bhaktas. (b) The instrumental music includes *khola*, *mṛdaṅga*, *bhortāla*, *mañjarī-tāla*, *nāgarā*, etc. Different *tālas* are played on *khola* and *mṛdaṅga*. (c) Dances are of two kinds, *ojāpali* and *gāyana-bāyana-nṛtta*. (d) Dramas are of different types, and they are followed by songs or *kīrtanas*. The different types of songs (*gītis*), as have been mentioned before, are still sung in different *Śātras*, *Nāma-gharas* and villages in Assam. The Manipurī dance and *kīrtana* are regarded as the unique contribution to the domain of Indian music. This type of dance is always followed by themes, as are depicted in the *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā*. The gestures and postures, together with constume are beautiful and graceful. The *khola* (*mṛdaṅga*) accompanies the dance.

The history of the development of music in Orissa is also very interesting. The sculptures of the Jain Cave-temples of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri, of the temples of Paraśurāmeśvara, Rājārāṇī, as also the colossal Sun-temple of Konārka bear ample evidences as to the development of classical and folk dances and music in Orissa. The Orissan dance and music, and different types of her folk song construe a fascinating chapter of Indian music. The *Abhinayacandrikā*, written by Maheśvara Mahāpātra, during the 12th century A. D., has described the gestures and postures, and different kinds of hand-poses (*mudrās*) of the Orissan dances, which differ from those described in Nandikeśvara's *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and Muni Bharata's

Nātyaśāstra. Different kinds of musical instruments of Orissan type can also be seen in different sculptures of Orissan temples like Konārka, Puri, and Bhubaneśvara. Many of the treaties on Indian music were also composed in Orissa from the early 12th century upto the 18th century A. D., and of them the *Gīta-prakāśa*, *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, *Saṅgīta-saraṇi*, *Saṇgīta-kāmoda*, etc. are worth-mentioning.

The history of Indian music is, in reality, very amazing. From the primitive period right down to the present day, it has created and is also creating a glorious history of its own, and the music of the other nations of the world are much indebted to it. Its range is vast, and so it is not possible to enclose it within the narrow compass of a few printed pages, still we are aware that there is necessity for such venture, as it will unfold before the eyes of the readers a picture, however small, of the achievements of the historic and glorious India in the domain of fine art of music.

CHAPTER II

MUSIC IN THE NĀRADĪSIKṢĀ AND THE NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA

I

The Nāradīśikṣā:

Music lay asleep, as it were, in the womb of Nature, and its awakening means its manifestation in the gross form from the unmanifested causal one. The upholders of the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta believe in the *satkāryavāda*, which means effect is the manifested form of cause that exists eternally. They maintain that everything comes out from that which already exists in a causal form. The theory of evolution also connotes the idea of gradual manifestation of that which already existed in a subtle or causal form, and involution implies the notion of going back to the causal state: "*nāśaḥ kāraṇarlayaḥ*". From this it is evident that evolution means the manifestation of something in a gradual process. Evolution is not, therefore, an entirely new thing, but the emergence of the new form out of the ashes of the old one, with some necessary changes like additions and alterations—adjustments and re-adjustments. It has been mentioned in the Ṛgveda: "*sūryacandramasau dhātā, yathā pūrvamakalpayat*", i.e. the first-born Lord (*Hiraṇyagarbha-Brahman*) created (projected) the phenomenal universe with its sun, moon, stars, etc, as they existed in the previous cycle. The art of music also developed from the causal state into the gross form through the medium of gradual progress, and it will go on developing until it reaches perfection.

The *rāga* is the norm or matrix of Indian music, and it forms the main structure of Indian music. The word '*rāga*' occurs four times in the *Nāradīśikṣā*: thrice in the second section (*kāṇḍa*) and once in the fourth section of the first chapter (*prapāṭhaka*). It may be asked as to what does the word '*rāga*' signify. Nārada says that the *grāma-rāgas* fully convey the idea and significance of the '*rāga*' which means that pleases and soothes the mind of all living beings ("*rañjayati iti rāgaḥ*"). Nārada has described about the *svara-maṇḍala* which is constituted of *tāna*, *rāga*, *svara*, *grāma*, *mūrcchanā*, etc. Nārada says,

> Sapta-svarāstrayo grāmā mūrcchanāstekaviṁśatiḥ/
> Tānā-ekonapañcāśadityetat-svaramaṇḍalaṃ//

Further he says,

> Tāna-rāga-svara-grāma-mūrcchanānāṃ tu lakṣmaṇaṃ/
> Pavitraṃ pāvanaṃ punyaṃ nāradena prakīrtitaṃ//

According to Nārada, *tāna*, *rāga*, *svara*, *grāma* and *mūrcchanā*, that constitute the *svara-maṇḍala*, are sacred and purifying, because they bring permanent solace and tranquility to the minds of men and women. Some maintain that Nārada of the *Śikṣā* has used the word '*rāga*' in the sense of a note (*svara*) and not in the sense of a melody (*rāga*) which is formed out of the combination of notes or tones, and so he has used the particular word '*rāgasvara*' instead of '*rāga*'. Therefore the words in the *śloka*: "*tāna-rāga-svara-grāma*" etc. and "*svara-rāga-viśeṣeṇa rāgasvara iti smṛtaḥ*" do not seem to be very happy. As a matter of fact the *grāmarāgas* are named after the initial notes of the ancient *grāmas* like *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *gāndhāra*. The practice of the *grāma-rāgas* were also current in the pre-Christian era, and they are found mentioned in the Great

Epics like *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.), *Mahābhārata* (300 B.C.) and *Harivaṁśa* (200 B.C.)

Some hold that the *Nāradīśikṣā* being a book of Vedic prosody, has nothing to do with the topics of music. But they are not correct in their views, because the *Nāradīśikṣā* deals with the fundamental laws and principles of both the *vaidika* and *laukika* types of music with their uses of metres, tones and tunes. Nārada has also described the essentials of vocal and instrumental music, based on the three ancient basic scales or *grāmas* like *ṣaḍja*. *madhyama* and *gāndhāra*. But, truly speaking, the use of the *gāndhāra-grāma* became almost obsolete during Nārada's time in the 1st century A.D. and he has admitted the fact in the NS:

Ṣaḍja-madhyama-gāndhārastrayo grāmāḥ prakīrtitaḥ/
Bhurlokājjāyate ṣaḍjo bhuvarlokācca madhyamaḥ//
Svargānnānyatra gāndhāro nāradasya mataṃ yathā/

The words '*bhuḥ*', '*bhuvaḥ*' and '*svaḥ*' connote the ideas of nether or human world, ether or spirit world and upper world or *devaloka*. Now, what do we mean by '*devaloka*'? The *devaloka* or upper world, in the ancient times, signified the higher level of India which meant the *Gāndhāra-deśa* (modern *Kāndāhāra*), inhabited by the semi-divine and music-loving Gandharvas. It is said that the *Gāndhāra-deśa* was situated on the North-West Frontier of India as it is at the present day, and it is believed that it was the ancient site where the civilization and culture of India had their dawn. For this reason it was known as the sacred region of the bright spirits or *devas*. And it is a fact that the Gandharvas were fully conversant with the use and application of the *gāndhāra-grāma* in their system of music, which was known as '*gāndharva*'. Nārada is said to be the pro-

mulgater of the *gāndharva* school (*sampradāya*), and so it is believed by some that he knew that the *gāndhāra-grāma*, which was suitable for the *gāndharva* type of music for the Gandharvas, would not be suitable for the music system of the world, as the tonal arrangement of the *gāndhāra-grāma* was somewhat difficult for improvisation in the practical field. But this theory or belief does not seem to be sound from the viewpoint of the strict logic, because we know that Muni Bharata has also left out the discussion of the *gāndhāra-grāma* from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, in the 2nd century A. D., though he has exclusively dealt with the system of the *gāndharva* music. He has also admitted the fact that the *gāndharva* type of classical music was favourite and pleasing both to the gods and the Gandharvas. He has said:

> Gāndharvamiti vijñeyaṃ svara-tāla-padāśrayaṃ//
> Atyarthamiṣṭān devānāṃ tathā prītikaraṃ punaḥ/
> Gandharvānāmidaṃ yasmāt tasmād-gāndharvamucyate//

Thus we learn that though Muni Bharata is well-acquainted with the *gāndhāra-grāma*, yet he has not discussed it in connection with the *gāndharva* type of music.

Some scholars are of opinion that *gāndhāra-grāma* evolved first, hence it is the most ancient of the three *grāmas*. While discussing about the *gāndhāra-grāma* in connection with the article, *Survival of the Useful in Music*, which appeared in the "Journal of the Music Academy, Vo. XVII, 1946," (pp. 80-89), Prof. P. Sāmbamoorthy has said: "Of the Shaḍja, Madhyama and Gāndhāra grāmas mentioned in early literature, the Gāndhāra-grāma is the earliest. It is referred to in the Mahābhārata and in some Purāṇas. It became obsolete by the time of Bharata and Dattila". Further he has said: "In the Gā-grāma, the

pairs of notes, *sa* and *ma*, *ri* and *dha*, and *ga* and *ni* were Samvādīs. The interval between Ga and Ma, between Ma and Pa and between Ni and Sa was the same, i. e. 10/9 or a Triśruti interval. * * * The Gāndhār-grāma, in course of time was ignored because its Rishabha, Gāndhāra, Dhaivata and Nishāda were re-discovered in the Mūrcchanā, Uttarāyatā of Sa-grāma and in its reduced Pañchama 40/27 in the Madhyama-grāma. The Svaras of the Ga-grāma can even now be heard in the Vedic chants (not the Sāmagāna) of the Vaidikas of South India". While discussing about the *grāmas* in the Expert Committee Discussion of the Music Academy Conference, Madras in 1958, another South Indian Scholar, Sri Rāmanāthan also discussed about the *gāndhāra-grāma* on the basis of the *śruti* values as given by Śārańgdeva in the *Sańgīta-Ratnākara*.[1] Śārańgdeva has shown

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1 Śārańgdeva has quoted Nārada of the *Śikṣā* for the values given by him. The *gāndhāra-grāma* has been referred to after the *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama grāmas*, and it is evident that with the *śuddha-svaras* of the *ṣaḍja-grāma* as the basic scale, the notes of the *gāndhāra-grāma* were evaluated. Śārańgdeva says in the SRK: "*Gāndhāra* takes one *śruti* for *ṛṣabha*, which means that *ṛṣabha* gets reduced from its *tri-śruti* value to the *dvi-śruti* value 16/15; *gāndhāra* also takes one *śruti* from *madhyama*, which means that *gāndhāra* is raised by a *śruti*, i.e. its value is raised to 6/5 from 32/27, and in consequence, the original interval of 9/8 that existed between *gāndhāra* and *madhyama* now becomes a *tri-śruti* interval of 10/9. The *dhaivata* takes one *śruti* from *pañcama*, which means that *pañcama* gets reduced to the frequency of 40/27. *Niṣāda* takes one *śruti* from *dhaivata*, which means that *dhaivata* gets reduced to 8/5; *niṣāda* also takes one *śruti* from *tāra-ṣaḍja*, which means that the frequency of *niṣāda* gets increased from 16/9 to 9/5".

that the *sruti* value of the *gāndhāra-grāma* is identical with the *dhaivata-mūrcchanā* of the *ṣaḍja-grāma*, and can be equated with the *vilarippailai* of the Tāmil sources. So, according to Śrī Rāmanāthan, it fell into disuse owing to the difficulty of negotiating the two *madhyamas*.

Dr. B. Chaitanya Deva has also discussed the *śrutī*-problem of the *grāmas* in a somewhat different manner. According to him, the oldest defined scale was of the *sāman* chant and it closely corresponded to the Sa-grāma. "Hence it is safe to assume", he says, "that this *grāma* (*sa-grāma*) is the oldest of the three and the other two are later developments". Regarding the *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*, he has further said: "It can also be noticed that *Sa* and *Ma grāmas* have the most balanced pairs of tetrachords. But, in *Sa-grāma*, whereas *Sa* and *Ma* have both fourths and fifths, *Pa*, an important note, has only *a fifth* (*sa*) and no *fourth*. To rectify this, another scale had to be formed wherein *Pa* found a *fourth* and *fifth*. Since the scales were descending, *Pa* is *lowered* by a comma (it is to be noted that *Ri* is not raised) resulting in *Ma-grāma*. In this scale, though *Pa* has acquired a *fourth*" (vide *Drone in Indian Music*, in the Journal of the MMA, Madras). Regarding the obsolete use of the *gāndhāra-grāma*, he has further advanced the theory that "with both the scales combined, *Ga* has no *fifth* and *Dha* lacks a *fourth*. This drawback is amended by creating the *Ga-grāma* wherein the two notes find the requisite counter-parts in the other tetrachords. Now, in the *Ga-grāma*, the *madhyama*, which was shown to be a very important note in ancient music, has only *one* consonant. Further, the *pañcama* has no consonant note at all. *Sa* has only one consonant. Neither are the two tetrachords balanced. These reasons might

have contributed to the gradual disappearance of this scale".

Some scholars are of opinion that the *gāndhāra-grāma* is still in vogue by the name of *sādhārita-grāma* like the *kaiśika-grāma* which exists in the name of the *dhaivata-grāma*. N. K. Bose has written a thesis on *Melodic Types of Hindusthān* (1960), and there he has said that *sādhārita* appears to have been actually called the *gāndhāra-grāma*, when it was originally borrowed from the Gandharvas. The name was subsequently abundoned when it came to be regarded as a derivative of the *ṣaḍja-grāma*. This accounts for the popular notion that the *gāndhāra-grāma* exists in heaven only and not on the earth. One of the reasons for the discontinuance of the name seems to be the inconvenience in using it, because the starting note of the scale was the *antara-gāndhāra* and not the *gāndhāra*". But it should be noted in this connection that the names of the *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *gāndhāra* do not occur by their initial letters *sa*, *ma* and *ga*, but they are named so by their basic *mūrcchanās*, which start from the notes of the said respective *grāmas*, e.g. in the *ṣaḍja-grāma*, it is the *mūrcchanā*, *uttaramandrā* which starts from *sa* or *ṣaḍja* ; in the *madhyma-grāma*, it is the *mūrcchanā*, *sauvīrā* which starts from *ma* or *madhyama*, and in the *gāndhāra-grāma* it is the *mūrcchanā*, *nandā* which starts from *ga* or *gāndhāra*. Therefore it is neither a fact that the *ṣaḍja-grāma* signifies singing with *ṣaḍja* as *śruti* or tonic, the *madhyama-grāma* signifies singing in *madhyama* as *śruti* or tonic and the *gāndhāra-grāma* as singing with *gāndhāra* as *śruti* to tonic, nor does the interpretation that *ṣaḍja-grāma* signify the *mūrcchanās* in the *mandra-sthāyī* or lower octave, *madhyama-grāma*, the *mūrcchanas* in the *madhya-sthāyī* or middle

octave, and *gāndhāra-grāma*, the *murcchanās* in the *tāra-sthāyī* or higher octave, but their names have been given from the initial letters of their *mūrcchanās*. So whether *gāndhāra-grāma* really started from the *antara-gāndhāra* as its initial letter or note should further be investigated with care. Now it is a fact that since all the important intervals and scales were inherent and implied in the *ṣaḍja-grāma* and its *mūrcchanās*, and since by the re-allocation of *śrutis* many new scales were obtained, the *madhyama-grāma* and the *gāndhāra-grāma* became practically useless. The *mūrcchanās* of the *madhyama-grāma* and the *gāndhāra-grāma* were either covered directly by the *mūrcchanās* of the *ṣaḍja-grāma*, or indirectly by the resultant modes, obtained by the re-allocation of *srutis* of the tones of the *mūrcchanās* of the *ṣaḍja-grāma*. Such is also the observation of Prof. Sāmbamoorthy, while discussing on the evolution of the scales.

Nārada has said that the practice of the *gāndhāra-grāma* is restricted within heaven i.e. in the *devaloka* (and also in *gandharvaloka*). But in the *Mahābhārata-Harivaṁśa*, we find mention of "*ā gāndhāra-grāmarāgaḥ*", which means that the *grāmarāgas* were sung upto the *gāndhāra-grāma*. Nānyadeva of Mithilā has also described obout the *gāndhāra-grāma*, together with the *rāgas*, evolved from it, in the *Sarasvati-hṛdayālaṁkāra*, the commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In the *Saṅgīta-makaranda* of Nārada II, the *gāndhāra-grāma* has been described in this way:

Ri-ma-yoḥ śrutirekaika gāndhārasya saṁśraya /
Dhaivata-śrutireka ca niṣāda-śruti-saṁśraya //
Gāndhāragrāma-mācaste tadā taṃ nārada muniḥ/
Pravartate svargaloke grāme'sau na mahītale//

That is, if one *śruti* is taken from each of the notes of *ṛṣabha* and *madhyama* and is added to the *śrutis* of *niṣāda*, the scale or *grāma* so formed is called the *gāndhāra-grāma* by Muni Nārada (of the *Śikṣā*). This scale or *grāma* was prevalent in heaven, and not on earth. Again Pauṇḍarika Viṭṭhala of the 15th-16th century A.D. has determined the structure of the *gāndhāra-grāma* thus:

Ga-nyoḥ sthāne ri-dhau yatra laghu-ṣaḍja payo-ni-mau/
Gāndhāro madhyama-sthāne ga-grāmo yāṣṭiko mataḥ//

That is, where *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* are placed in the position of *gāndhāra* and *niṣāda*, and *niṣāda* and *madhyama* in the position of *laghu-ṣaḍja* and *laghu-pañcama*, and *gāndhāra* in the position of *madhyama*, it is known as the *gāndhāra-grāma*, according to the musicologist Yāṣṭika. Now, from this determination of Paṇḍit Viṭṭhala we can assume that it is difficult for the artists in general to present the scale which is consisted of *ṛṣabha* having two *śrutis*, *madhyama* having three *śrutis*, *dhaivata* having two *śrutis* and *nisāda* having three *śrutis*, and for this reason it is probable that the use of the *gāndhāra-grāma* has become obsolete. On the other hand, it is quite possible that as the tonal values of *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhāra*, *dhaivata* and *niṣāda* were re-discovered in the *uttarāyatā-mūrcchanā* of the *ṣaḍja-grāma*, together with its reduced *pañcama* as 40/27 in the *madhyama-grāma*,[2] so

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2 The frequencies of the notes or tones in the three *grāmas* with their cyclic cents are:

	S	R	G	M	P	DH	NI
Sa-grāma...	1	10/9 182	32/27 294	4/3 498	3/2 702	5/3 884	16/9 996
Ma-grāma...	1	10/9 182	32/27 294	4/3 498	40/27 680	5/3 884	16/9 996
Ga-grāma...	1	16/15 112	6/5 316	4/3 498	40/27 680	8/5 814	9/5 1018

the use and utility of the *gāndhāra-grāma* gradually fell into disuse.

Nārada has mentioned about two kinds of *veeṇā*, *gātra* and *dāravī* in connection with two types of songs (*gāna*), *vaidika* (Vedic) and *laukika* (post-Vedic). He has said,

> Dāravī gātra-veeṇā ca dve veeṇe gāna-jātisu/
> Sāmikī gātra-veeṇā tu tasyaḥ sṛnuta lakṣmaṇaṃ//
> Gātra-veeṇā tu sā proktā yaṣyāṃ gāyanti sāmagāḥ//

There were two kinds of *veeṇā*, *dāravī* and *gātra*, to accompany the *vaidika sāmagāna* and the *laukika gāndharva-jātirāga-gāna*. The word '*gāna*' here connotes the idea of the *sāmagāna*, and *jāti* signifies the idea of the *jātirāga-gāna*, hence Nārada says that *gātra-veeṇā* was meant for the *sāman*-singers. The *gātra-veeṇā* possessed of a gourd and a wooden stem, having five, six or seven strings. It used to be played in an inclined posture with the help of fingers of the hands, and used to be placed on the thighs of the player. Regarding the method of playing the *gātra-veeṇā*, Nārada has said:

> Hastau susaṁyuktau dhāryau jānubhyāmupari sthitau/
> Guroranukṛtiṃ kuryād yathā jñānamatirbhavet//
> Praṇavaṃ prāk-prayuñjīta vyāhṛttostadanantaraṃ/
> Savitrīṃ cānuvacanaṃ tato vṛttāntamārabhet//
> Prasārya cāṅgulauḥ sarvā ropayet svara-maṇḍalaṃ/
> Na cāṅgulibhiraṅguṣṭha-maṅguṣthe-nāṅguliḥ spṛset//

From this it can be imagined how scientific and methodical was the method of playing of the *veeṇā* in accompaniment with the songs.

Nārada has also described about the *tānas* or elaborations of the tones. There were 12 *tānas* in the *ṣaḍja-grāma*, 20

in the *madhyama-grāma*, and 15 in the *gāndhāra-grāma*= total 47 *tānas*. Besides, there were 21 *mūrcchanās* in each *grāma*, and they were allotted to *devas*, *pitṛs* and *ṛṣis* or *gandharvas*. There were presiding deities of each *laukika* tones. Nārada has said that *vaidika* and *laukika* songs (*gānas*) possessed ten qualities, from which ten kinds of effects were produced (*guṇa-vṛttis*), and they were *raktaṃ*, *pūrṇaṃ*, *alaṁkṛtaṃ*, *prasannaṃ*, *vyaktaṃ*, *vikruṣṭaṃ*, *ślaknaṃ*, *samaṃ*, *sukumāraṃ* and *madhuraṃ*. He has also given the real significances of each such quality. He says that songs were significant and meaningful with these qualities, and otherwise they were out of tones and tunes.

Nārada has determined as well as defined the seven *grāmarāgas* like *ṣāḍava*, *pañcama*, *madhyamagrāma*, *ṣaḍjagrāma*, *kaiśika*, *kaiśika-madhyama*, and *sādhārita*, which are found clearly mentioned in the Kudumiāmālai Inscription of the 7th century A.D., engraved under the orders of Rājā Mahendravarman of the Pādukotai State, South India. He has beautifully defined the term '*gāndharvaṃ*', and says,

Geti geyaṃ viduḥ prājñāḥ dheti kāru-pravādanaṃ/
Veti vādyasya saṁjñeyaṃ gāndharvasya virocanaṃ//

The commentator Bhaṭṭaśobhākara explains the above *śloka* thus: "*gāndbarvasya āgataṃ gāndharvaṃ tasyākṣaropalakṣitārtha-pratipādanena virocanaṃ viśeṣato rocanamuddīpanaṃ bhavati ga-śabdena gānaṃ lakṣyate, dha-kāreṇa vakāreṇa vaiṇikasya pravādanaṃ* * *"; i. e. when songs are properly accompanied by musical instruments they are known as *gāndharvaṃ*. The *gāndharva* type of songs was first promulgated by Druhina Brahmā or Brahmābharata, and was there after enriched by Sadāśiva or Sadāśivabharata and Muni Bharata and others.

Bharata has identified the tones of the *vaidika* music with those of the *laukika* ones, and this identification has been made by means of tonal quality and their pitch values. As for example, Nārada says,

> Yaḥ sāmagānāṃ prathamaḥ sa veṇor-madhyamaḥ svaraḥ/
> Yo dvitīyaḥ sa gāndhāra-stṛtīya-stvṛṣabhaḥ smṛtaḥ//
> Caturthaḥ ṣadja-ityāhuḥ pañcamo dhaivato bhavet/
> Ṣaṣṭhe niṣādo vijñeyaḥ saptamaḥ pañcamaḥ smṛtaḥ//

That is, the tone *prathama* and its value (in the *gāna*) are equal to *madhyama* and its tonal value (in the *veṇu* i.e. *laukīka* classical type of music); the tone, *dvitīya* and its value are equal to *gāndhāra* and its value; *tṛtīya* and its value are equal to *ṛṣabha* and its value; *caturtha* and its value are equal to *ṣaḍja* and its value; *pañcama* or *mandra* and its value are equal to *dhaivata* and its value, and *ṣaṣṭha* or *atisvārya* and its value are equal to *niṣāda*; and *saptama* or *kruṣṭa* and its value are equal to *pañcama*.

The ancient musical instruments, *veeṇā* and the *veṇu* were used for the types of music, *vaidika*, and *laukika*, or it might be possible that Vedic music used to be determined by means of *veeṇā*, and the *laukika* one, by means of *veṇu* or pipe, made of bone, wood or bamboo. It may be asked as to why the lute or *veeṇā* was known as the symbol of the Vedic music and the pipe or *veṇu* as that of the classical formalised *deśī* and simple folk music. It is a historical fact that the pipe or *veṇu* is the most ancient musical instrument, which evolved immediately after the instrument of percussion i. e. drum. In the primitive time, the drum (*dundubhi* or *bhumi-dundubhi*) and the pipe or flute (*veṇu* or *vaṁśa*) were used as musical instruments supporting the simple rude music of the primitive nations.

Gradually the gut-stringed musical instrument of the rude harp-size lute or *veeṇā* evolved, and in the Vedic period, it was considerably developed and used as accompaniment to the Vedic music. The Vedic music was more developed than the simple songs of the primitive as well as prehistoric times. It is also a fact that the materials of the Vedic music were taken from the folk music of the ancient times, as it came to be regarded as a symbol not only of the folk music, but also of all kinds of music other than the Vedic one. Similarly in the Vedic time, when the lute or *veeṇā* evolved in such a manner so as to accompany the Vedic music, it began to be held as the symbol of the Vedic songs. In fact, musical instruments used to play important role in the music of ancient times. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, we find that the drum, *puṣkara* used to determine the pitch values of the tones of music.

As regards the origin of tones, Nārada has suggested that the musical tones evolved as if from the final vibration-units of the tones (sounds) of birds and animals, e.g. the final tonal vibrations of peacock resemble the tonal pitch and value of the note, *ṣaḍja*, and so it is taken by some that *ṣaḍja* originated from the tone or sound of the peacock. Similarly the sound or call of the bull resembles that of *ṛṣabha*; the sound of the ram or sheep resembles that of *gāndhāra*; the sound of the crane resembles that of *madhyama*; the call of the cuckoo resembles that of *pañcama*; the sound of the horse resembles that of *dhaivata*, and the sound of the elephant resembles that of *niṣāda*. Perhaps some close observations were made in ancient times to find out whether tonalities or pitch-units of the musical notes resembled the sounds of the birds and animals, and this fact is delineated in the Sanskrit scriptures like *Ṛk*-

prātiśākhya, *Nāradīśikṣā*, *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, etc. However this theory needs further testing in the light of modern science and reason.

Nārada has further dealt with in the aphorisms 5 to 12 of the fourth chapter in the *Śikṣā* the scientific explanation of the origin of seven musical tones. His statements in the aphorisms 5 to 6 do not seem scientific, as he states therein that *ṣaḍja* rises (originates) from the throat (*kaṇṭha*), *ṛṣabha* from the head i.e. mouth, *gāndhāra* from the nostril, *madhyama* from the top part of the palate, *pañcama* from the conjunction of upper part of the palate, throat and mouth, *dhaivata* from the inner part of the brow (*lalāṭa*), and *niṣāda* from the conjunctions of all limbs. But, it has already been said that this explanation does not hold good, and so Nārada has said,

Nāsāṃ kaṇṭha-murasthālu-jihvā-dantaśca saṁśṛtaḥ/
Ṣaḍbhi sañjāyate yasmāt tasmāt ṣaḍja iti smṛtaḥ//

As the air passes through these six levels of nose, throat, top part of the palate, base of the palate, lip and teeth, so it is called *ṣaḍja* (*'ṣaḍabhighātāt jāyate iti ṣaḍja'*). Similarly he has further said,

Vāyuḥ samutthito nāveḥ kaṇṭha-śīrṣa-samāhataḥ//
Nadatṛṣabhadyasmāt tasmādṛṣabha-ucyate//
Vāyuḥ samutthito nābheḥ kaṇṭha-śīrṣa-samāhataḥ/
Nānā gandha-vahaḥ puṇyo gāndhārastena hetunā//
Vāyuḥ samutthito nābheruro hṛdi samāhataḥ/
Nābhiṃ prāpto mahānādo madhymatvaṃ samaśnute//
Vāyuḥ-samutthito nābheruro-hṛdi-kaṇṭha-śīrohataḥ/
Pañcasthānotthitasyāsya pañcamatvaṃ vidhīyate//
Dhaivataṃ ca niṣādaṃ ca varjayitvā svaradvayaṃ/
Śeṣāt-pañcasthāna-sthitatvena sarvasthānāni dhāryate//

From the above-mentioned *ślokas* it is evident that air (*vāyu*) or friction of air in the process of conjunction with the limbs originates musical notes or tones, and this statement seems more scientific and rational. But it should be noted that *ṣaḍja*, *ṛṣabha*, etc. are the formalised *desī* or *laukika* tones, and they are also the classical ones. The *vaidika* tones are different in their names and tonal values. The names of the *vaidika* tones are: *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *caturtha*, *mandra* (*pañcama*) *atisvārya* (*ṣaṣṭḥa*) and *kruṣta* (*saptama*). Nārada has mentioned that *kruṣta* originates from *murdhā* (head), *prathama* from *lalāta* (forehead), *madhyama* from *bhruva* (middle of the eyebrows), *dvitīya* and *tṛtīya* from *karṇas* (ears), *caturtha* from *kaṇṭḥa* (vocal chord), *mandra* from *ūra* (upper part of the palate) and *atisvārya* from the lower part of the heart. These parts are regarded as the bases of the *vaidika* or Vedic tones. It seems to us that those limbs are not really the bases, but only the locations, where the Sāmagas used to touch them with the help of their fingers in the time of singing. So it may be regarded as one of the processes of observing the time-units and metres of different *sāman*-singings.

There is another method of observing times or time-units and metres, and though Nārada has given an evidence of it, yet there is an anomaly of statement, because, while giving examples of touching the fingers in the time of singing the *sāmans* with the respective Vedic tones, he has also mentioned about the *laukika* tones in a simultaneous way. As for example, he has said,

Aṅguṣṭḥasyottame kruṣtohyaṅgusṭḥe prathamaḥ svaraḥ/
Prādeśinyāṃ tu gāndhāra-ṛṣabhastadanantaraṃ//
Anāmikāyāṃ ṣaḍjastu kaniṣṭḥikāyāṃ ca dhaivataḥ/
Tasyādhatācca yonyāstu niṣādaṃ tatra vinyaset//

Nārada has also dealt with the problem of microtones, which were afterwards came to be known as *jātis* or causal microtones (*jātiśrutis*). He has enumerated the microtones as five, and they are: *dīptā*, *āyatā*, *karuṇā* *mṛdu* and *madhyā*:

> Dīptāyatā-karuṇānāṃ mṛdu-madhyamayosthā /
> Śrutināṃ yo'viśeṣajño na sa ācārya ucyate / /

Nārada has definitely said that a master (Ācārya) of music is he, who knows the intricate positions and problems of the microtones. Regarding their bases (*sthānas*) on the seven tones, he has said that *dīptā* resides in the Vedic tones, *mandra*, *dvitīya* and *caturtha*; *karunā*, in the tones, *atisvārya*, *tṛtīya* and *kruṣta*; and *mṛdu*, *madhyamā* or *madyā* and *āyatā* in the tone, *dvitīya* The names of these microtones (*śrutis*) are very significant, as they convey aesthetic sentiments and emotional moods (*rasas* and *bhāvas*). As for example,

1. dīptā— connotes the idea of brilliance, lusture, stimulation, etc.
2. āyatā— connotes the idea of broadness, immensity, vastness, etc.
3. karuṇā—connotes the idea of compassion, pity, softness, etc.
4. mṛdu— connotes the idea of timidness, softness, tenderness, humiliation etc.
5. madhyamā or madhyā—connotes the idea of medium, balance, control, etc.

Muni Bharata has devised as well as divided the twenty-two microtones (*śrutis*) on the basis of these five causal microtones, as expounded by Nārada, and there occur some

common names among the twenty-two microtones. As for example,

Nārada		*Bharata*
dīptā	...	tīvrā
āyatā	...	kumudvatī
mṛdu	...	mandā
madhyā	...	chandovatī
karuṇā	...	dayāvatī

The five causal microtones occur also in the base-tones like *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*—high, grave and circumflex. Regarding it, Narada has said,

Dīptāmudātte jānīyāt dīptāṃ ca svarite viduḥ/
Anudātte mṛdurjñeyā gāndharvā śruti-sampadāḥ//

There is a controversy regarding the exact date of the *Nāradīśikṣā* by Nārada I. Some scholars ascribe the date to the 5th century A.D. and some to the 7th-9th century A.D. But most of the scholars are of opinion that it was written in the 1st century A.D., and this date has been accepted for many reasons.

The *Nāradīśikṣā* is a book on the science and art of the Vedic meters, phonetics, tones and tunes and the method of singing of the Vedic music, *sāmagāna*. It is the most important *śikṣā* among all others, as it deals with the problems of music, both *vaidika* and *laukika*. Again it should be remembered that the *Nāradīśikṣā* has, for the first time, determined the fixed scale of the *sāman*-singing. The Vedic tones has been called as *yama*, meaning that, which controls the tunes of the *sāmagāna*. The *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* states: "*triṣu mandrādiṣu sthāne ekaikasmin sapta-sapta yamāḥ bhavanti*", i.e. three sets of tones of the Vedic music formed the complete *saptaka*

(European *octave*, containing eight tones, sa to sa) of both the *vaidika* and *laukika* music. So we get the seven tones from the three base-tones, *udātta*, *anudātta*, and *svarita* thus:

3 and 5	4, 1 and 7	6 and 2
grave	medium	high
(*anudātta*)	(*svarita*)	(*udātta*)

Similarly we get the seven tones of the *gāndharva* and *deśī* types of music thus:

ri dha 2 6	sa ma pa 1 4 5	ni ga 7 3
(grave)	(medium)	(high)
bass	*circumflex*	*acute*

Again from the *ślokas*: "*yaḥ sāmagānāṃ prathamaḥ sa veṇor madhyamaḥ svaraḥ*", etc., we get the following corresponding tones of both the systems of music, *vaidika* and *laukika*:

prathama............madhyama (ma),
dvitīya...............gāndhāra (ga)
tṛtīya..................ṛṣabha (ri)
caturtha................ṣaḍja (sa)
mandra..................dhaivata (dha) } or { ni }
atisvārya...............niṣāda (ni) } or { dha }
kruṣṭa..................pañcama (pa) } or { pa }

Now, as the tones of the Vedic music were in downward trend: "*kruṣṭādayāḥ uttarottaraṃ nīcā bhavanti*" (—the Sāmatantra), so the Vedic scale is known as: ma, ga, ri sa/dḥa, ṇi, pa (dḥa and ṇi being *vakra*), or as: ma ga ri sa/ṇi dḥa pa (being straight) i. e. *prathama, dvitīya, tṛtīya, caturtha, mandra, atisvārya* and *kruṣṭa*, or *prathama, dvitīya, tṛtīya, caturtha, atisvārya, mandra* and *kruṣṭa*. The Vedic tones had their movement towards the grave or bass—'*mandra-gatiḥ*'.

Again the *Nāradīśikṣā* narrates that there were different recensions (*śākhās*) of the Vedas, and the upholders of those rencensions were divided accordingly into different schools or *sampradāyas*. The process of singing of different *sāmagānas* were different due to their application of different members of tone. The protagonists of some of the recensions used three or four tones in their *sāman* songs; some five, some six, while those, who followed the recension of the Kauthuma sect, used seven tones. But usually five tones were used in the *sāman*-singing (*sāmagāna*). The Vedic tones had their definite pitches and values, and they were extended upto three registers (*sthānas*), *mandra, madhya* and *tāra*,—grave, medium and high or acute. According to the *Nāradīśikṣā*, the *svaramaṇḍala* was in use in the later system of the *sāmagāna*. It is needless to mention that the Vedic music, *sāmagāna* was the source or fountainhead of all kinds of post-Vedic music. The folk music might be the source of the refined and exalted music, but the *sāmagāna* was the source of inspiration of all types of music.

II

The Nāṭyaśāstra:

During the time of Bharata, in the 2nd century A. D., the system of Indian music was very much developed. The

renaissance of music in the beginning of the classical period (600-500 B. C.) was contemporaneous with that of in Greece. Brahmā wrote his drama, *Brahmabharataṃ* at that time and formulated a new type of music, known as classical *gāndharva*. Most of the materials of the Vedic music were incorporated in the *gāndharva* type of music. It was systematically constituted with tones, microtones, scales, *mūrcchanās*, *tānas*, etc. The science of the microtones was much developed in Bharata's time, and he devised it with the help of two kinds of *veeṇā*, *acala*, having fixed frets and *cala*, having shiftable frets. Bharata has formulated the principles as well as materials of the *gāndharva* on the basis of those, as delineated in Brahmā's monumental work, and he has admitted the debt in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He has called his drama the '*Nāṭyaveda*', which is known also as the *Pañcamaveda* or *Gandharvaveda*. Like Nārada, Bharata seems to have been a scion of the clan of the Gandharva. Regarding his *Nāṭyaveda-cum-Nāṭyasāstra*, he has stated:

Saṁkalpya bhagavanevaṃ sarvān vedānānusmaran/
Nāṭyavedaṃ tataścakre caturvedāṅga-sambhavaṃ//
Jagrāha pāṭhya-mṛgvedāt sāmebhyo gītameva ca/
Yajurvedādabhinayān rasānatharvanādapi//[1]

'The Lord Brahmā desired to compile a science of dramaturgy (*Nāṭyaveda*), and thus contemplating upon the four Vedas, he collected the materials thereupon and compiled the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He took the plots of drama from the Ṛgveda, music from the Sāmaveda, the art of acting from the Yajurveda, and aesthetic qualities from the

1 Vide *Nātyaśāstra* (kāvyamālā ed., Bombay), I. 16-17.

Atharvaveda'. Now it is evident from these lines that the science of drama or dramaturgy, together with music, already existed in the Vedic time, and Brahmā or Brahmā-bharata carried on his investigations in the field of drama, dance and music in a novel way, with the help of the materials, as contained in the Vedas and Vedic music. In fact, Bharata has compiled his *Nāṭyaśāstra*, after following the footsteps of his grand predicessor, Brahmā or Brahmā-bharata.[1]

Besides the periods, ancient, mediaeval and modern, the history of Indian music can further be divided into three sub-periods, in a different way, and they are pre-*jāti*, *jāti* and post-*jāti* periods. The Vedic period, with its *sāman* songs, falls within the pre-*jāti* period; the *jāti* period ranges from the beginning of the classical period i.e. from 600-500 B.C. to approximately 5th-7th century A.D. and the post-*jāti* period begins nearly from the time of Mataṅga i.e. 5th-7th century A.D. and is extended upto the present time. But this division is made, according to the period of evolution of the *jātis* or *jātirāgas*. On the other hand, the previous divisions such as, ancient, mediaeval and modern are accepted by the historians.

The advents of Nārada and Bharata were in the *jāti*-period. Both of them were great exponents of Indian music, but their methods of treatment were different, to some extent. Nārada was an annotator of music, obtaining in the Vedic *Śikṣās*, and described both the types of music, *vaidika* and *laukika*. But Bharata's treatment was more elaborate, methodical and scientific. Though he borrowed

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1 "*Ājñāpito viditvahaṃ nāṭyavedaṃ pitāmahāt*"—Nāṭya-śāstra. I. 25.

most of the materials of music, dance and drama from Brahmā, the first and foremost exponent of Indian music, yet his manner of exposition was new and novel. It has been said before that Brahmā compiled the book, *Brahmabharataṃ*, and similarly Śiva or Sadāśiva composed the book on drama, *Sadāśivabharataṃ*. Abhinavagupta has mentioned about them in his commentary, *Abhinavabhāratī* thus: "*etena sadāśiva-brahmā-bharata-traya-vivecanena brahmāmatasāratā pratipādanāya* * * "i.e. 'let me prove the substantiality of Brahma's view on *nāṭya*, after surveying the views of Brahmā, Sadāśiva and Bharata'. From this it is understood that Brahmā, Sadāśiva and Bharata, these three authentic writers on dance, drama and music, were known to Abhinavagupta.

It has already been said that during Bharata's time, in the 2nd century A.D., the *gāndharva* type of music was in practice, which, in its turn, was divided into three classes, Temple, Court and Drama. The Temple music was sacred, and used to be presented on holy occasions in the temples and before ceremonial rites. The Court music was confined to the Royal Courts, and the Dramatic music was used in the dramatic performances (*abhinaya*). The *laukika* seven tones like *ṣaḍja ṛṣabha*, etc. together with two displaced or flat (*komala*) tones, *antarā-gāndhāra* and *kākalī-niṣāda* were used in those three classes of music. It should be noted in this connection that during Bharata's time, there were only two displaced or flat (*vikṛta* or *komala*) tones, and they were *antara* and *kākalī*. Before the Christian era, we do not get any reference of any displaced tones. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we find only seven pure (*śuddha*) *jātis* or *jātirāgas* in use in all classes of songs. Even during the times of Mataṅga (5th-7th century A. D.) and Pārśvadeva (9th-

11th century A.D.), there were only two displaced (*vikṛta*) tones. In the early 13th century or a little before that, we get more displaced tones, and even *ṣaḍja* and *pañcama* were regarded as the displaced ones. Śāraṅgdeva has mentioned about twelve displaced tones: "*ta eva vikṛtāvasthā dvādaśa pratipāditaḥ*". In the 16th century, twelve displaced tones were reduced to seven ("*vikṛtaścaivāpi saptaivetyevaṃ sarve caturdaśaḥ*"), and in the 17th century, during Veṅkaṭamakhī's time, we find the use of five displaced tones: "*svarāḥ pañcāiva vikṛtā*". It is probable that the increase and decrease in the numbers of the displaced tones were found necessary to fit in the structures of the *rāgas* in different times.

Regarding the *gāndharva* type of music, Bharata has said that the term '*gāndharva*' was known by its specific materials of *svara*, *tāla*, and *pada*: "*gāndharvamiti vijñeyaṃ svara-tāla-padāśrayaṃ*" (Kāśī ed. NS. 28. 8). Now, what did the terms, *svara*, *tāla* and *pada* convey? Bharata has defined '*svara*' as tones, *grāmas*, *mūrcchanās*, registers (*sthānas*) like *mandra*, *madhya* and *tāra* (low, medium and high), two *sādhāarṇas* (intermediate displaced tones like *antara-gāndhāra* and *kākalī-niṣāda*), four *varṇas* like *ārohī*, *avarohī*, *sthāyī* and *sañcārī*), six limbs or *aṅgas*, *alaṁkāras*, music parts or *dhātus*, etc. Similarly the term '*tāla*' signified *avāpa*, *niṣkrāma*, *vikṣepa*, *praveśika*, *śāmya*, *yāti*, *prakaraṇa*, *gīta*, *avayava mārga*, *padabhaṅga*, etc., and '*pada*' signified *vyañjana*, *varṇa*, *sandhi*, *vibhakti*, *ākhyāta*, *apasarga*, *nipāta*, *taddhita*, *chanda*, *vṛtta*, *jāti*, etc. As the materials of the *gāndharva* type of music were collected (*anviṣṭa*) from the Vedas i.e. from the Vedic music, *sāmagāna*, it was considered as *vaidika* and *apauraṣeya* i.e. independent of man's creation. In fact, the basic

materials of the *gāndharva* type of music were traditionally handed down from the most ancient times, and it was afterwards modified by the expert musico-dramatists like Brahmā, Sadāśiva in the 600-500 B.C.

Muni Bharata has also adopted the *gāndharva* type of music in the *Nātyaśāstra*, but he has further modified it in a novel way. Regarding the source of the *gāndarva* music, Bharata has stated: "*asya yonirbhaved gānaṃ veeṇā vaṁśastathaiva ca*" (N.S. 28.10). The word '*gāna*' signified the sacred Vedic music and the word '*vaṁśa*' signified the formalised *deśī* music. The lute or *veeṇā* was the chief musical instrument of the Vedic times, so the Vedic music sometimes signified the word '*veeṇā*'. Again, as the pipe or flute (*vaṁśa*) of bamboo evolved in the second stage of evolution of the musical instruments and the lute or *veeṇā* in the third stage, and as the refined Vedic music was mainly constituted out of the materials of simple regional-cum-folk music of the primitive and prehistoric times, so the most ancient pipe or *vaṁśa* stood as the symbol of music, other than the Vedic one.

Bharata has described eighteen *jātis* that evolved from the two basic scales (*grāmas*), *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*, current in his time (2nd century A.D.) The *jātis* were the *rāgas* (melodies), or it can be said that during the time of classical period, the *rāgas* were known by the term '*jāti*', the causal or basic type of melodies. Bharata has divided the *jātis* into two classes, pure (*śuddha*) and mixed (*vikṛta*) and they are:] "*jātayo dvibidhā śuddhā vikṛtāśca, tatra śuddhā ṣaḍjagrāme—ṣāḍjī, ārṣabhī sadhaivatī niṣādavatī, gāndhārī madhyamā pañcamī*] *madhyamagrāme......*". These were the pure form of *jātis*, evolved from the two *grāmas*.

Besides, there were eleven mixed *jātis*, and they were: "*ṣaḍjodicyavatī, ṣaḍjakaiśikī, ṣaḍjamadhyamā, raktagāndhārī, gāndhārodicyavā, madhyamodicyavā, gāndhārapañcamī, āndhrī, nandayantī, karmāravī* and *kaiśikī*". The three *jātis*, *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama*, and *pañcama* were included in the category of *svara-sādhāraṇa*, having their initial notes (*svaras*), sa-ma-pa as intermediate ones.

Again the seven pure *jātis* were named after seven tones (*svaras*), and the rest eleven ones were mixed, being an admixture of two or three *jātis*. As for example,

1. Ṣaḍjamadhyamā ...admixture of ṣāḍjī + madhyamā.
2. Ṣaḍjodicyavā ... ,, ,, ṣāḍjī + gāndhārī + dhaivatī.
3. Ṣaḍjakaiśikī ... ,, ,, ṣāḍjī + gāndhārī.
4. Gāndhārodicyavā ... ,, ,, ṣāḍjī + gāndhārī + dhaivatī + madhyamā.
5. Madhyamodicyavā ... ,, ,, gāndhārī + pañcamī + dhaivatī + madhyamā.
6. Raktagāndhārī ... ,, ,, gāndhārī + pañcamī + madhyamā + naiṣādī.
7. Āndhrī ... ,, ,, gāndhārī + ṣāḍjī.
8. Nandayantī ... ,, ,, gāndhārī + pañcamī + ārṣabhī.
9. Karmāravī ... ,, ,, naiṣādī + ārṣabhī + pañcamī.
10. Gāndhārapañcamī ... ,, ,, gāndhārī + pañcamī.
11. Kaiśikī ... ,, ,, dhaivatī + gāndhārī. + ṣāḍjī + madhyamā + pañcamī + naiṣādī.

In Bharata's time, the *mūrchanās* used to play the role of the modern *thāṭas* or *melas* or *melakartās*, so as to determine the correct structure of the *rāgas*. Bharata has divided the

jātis into heptatonic (*sampūrṇa*), hexatonic (*ṣāḍava*) and pentatonic (*auḍava*) forms, according to their number of tones or notes. He has considered the *aṁśa* as the most important and prominent tone in the *jātis*. Regarding an *aṁśa* he has said : 'tatraṁśo nāma,

> Yasmin-vasati rāgastu yasmāccaiva pravartate/
> Tena vai tāra-mandrāṇāṃ yo'tyarthamupalabhyate/
> Mandrañca tāra-viṣayā pañca-svaraparā gatiḥ//
> Aneka-svara-samyogo yo'tyarthamupalabhyate/
> Anyacca valino yasya samvādī cānuvādyapi//
> Grahopanyāsa vinyāsa-vinyāsābhyāsagocaraḥ/
> Parivārya sthito yastu so'ṁśoḥ syād daśa-lakṣmaṇaḥ//

That is, a tone or note was known as an *aṁśa*, when it possessed of ten characteristics like:

(a) the quality of creating impression of sweetness as well as that of attracting the minds of all living beings,

(b) the capacity of creating aesthetic sentiments and moods,

(c) the power of manifesting upto five consequitive tones in a downward trend in the lower octave (*saptaka*).

(d) which is surrounded by other tones,

(e) the consonant and the assonant of which are prominent,

(f) which is recognised by the production of the initial tone (*graha*),

(g) which is recognised by the production of the final tone (*nyāsa*),

(h) which is recognised by the production of the *apanyāsa*, and

(i) which is recognised by the production of the *vinyāsa*.

Therefore, the term *aṁśa* bore a special significance in Bharata's time, and as such whether *aṁśa* was equal to *vādī* or sonant in its status, should be minutely observed. But again we find that Bharata has dealt separately with the problem of the determining tones like, *vādī*, *samvādī*, *anuvādī* and *vivādī* (sonant, consonant, assonant and dissonant) in the same chapter (28th, Cf. *Vārānasī* ed.): "*vādī caivātha samvādī anuvādi vivādyapi*". In this connection, he has said: "*tatra yo yatrāṁśaḥ sa tasya vādī*" i.e. somehow or other an *aṁśa* bears the similar status and value of a *vādī*, and he has been supported in this respect both by Mataṅga and Pārśvadeva.

Bharata has stated that there were 63 *aṁśas* in all in the two *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*. Mataṅga has defined *aṁśa* in a more explicit manner. According to him, an *aṁśa* is that which gives birth to a *rāga*, and is self-sufficient (*vyāpaka*): "*rāga-janakatvāt vyāpakatvāc-caṁśaṣyaiva prādhānyaṃ*".

(a) "*Yasminnaṁśe kṛyamāne rāgābhivyaktir-bhavati so'pyaṁśaḥ*",

(b) "*Yasca vahu-prayogātaraḥ so'pyaṁśaḥ*".

(c) "*Yo rāgasya viṣayatvenavasthitaḥ svarāḥ so'pyaṁśaḥ*".

Mataṅga has said that an *aṁśa* has a tendency of becoming a *vādī*, and though Bharata has said that an *aṁśa* is also known as a *graha*, yet there lies a difference between an *aṁśa* (sonant) and a *graha* (initial). As for example, Mataṅga has said: "*nānyevaṃ grahāṁśayoḥ ko bhedaḥ? ucyate; aṁśo vādyeva paraṃ, grahastu vādyādi-bheda-bhinnaścatur-vidhaḥ*".[1] Pārśvadeva has defined *aṁśā* in the similar

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1 Vide *Bṛhaddeśī* (Trivāndrum ed.), p. 56.

way. He has said that an *aṁśa* means the prominent tone or *jīvasvara*, and so it is also known as *vādī*. Again it should be remembered that among the seven tones, *aṁśa* used to possess the capacity of creating the tune, and so it is known as the *jīvasvara*: "*sapta-svarānāṃ madhye'pi svare yasmin surāgataḥ, sa jīvasvara ityukte aṁśo vādī ca kathyate*".[2]

Bharata has given the full significance of the term, *rāga* by means of its ten essentials (*daśa-lakṣaṇas*). In truth, the intrinsic nature of the *rāgas* of all times, ancient and mediaeval and modern, are determined by the ten essentials. It has been said before that during Bharata's time (2nd century A.D.), *rāgas* were known by the nomenclature of the '*jāti*', and they were also determined by ten essentials. As for example, Bharata has stated, "*daśavidha-jātilakṣaṇaṃ*./

Grahāṁśau tāra-mandrau ca nyāsopanyāsa eva ca/
Alpatvaṃ ca vahutvaṃ ca ṣāḍavauḍavite tathā// 28.70

That is, *jātis* or *jātirāgas* were determimed by the ten essentials like *graha* (initial), *aṁśa* (sonant), *tāra* (acute), *mandra* (bass), *nyāsa* (final), *apanyāsa*, *alpatva* (rarity), *vahutva* (multiplicity), *ṣāḍava* (hexatonic form), and *auḍava* (pentatonic form).[3] Bharata says that these are the essentials or saliant features of a *jāti* (*jātirāga*). From the beginning of the Christian era upto the present time, there took place many changes in forms, names and meanings of many materials of music, including those of essentials or *rāga-lakṣaṇas*, yet the traditional method or process has been

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2 Vide *Saṅgīta-samayasāra* (Trivāndrum ed.), p. 5.

3 These have been fully discussed in my book: *Historical Development of Indian Music* (Calcutta 1960).

followed throughout the ages, in respect of determination of the nature of a *rāga*. Even in the present system of Hindusthānī music, this method has been considered as an essential one. Paṇḍit V. N. Bhātkhaṇḍe has mentioned in his *Śrimallakṣyasaṁgītaṃ* (1934):

Lakṣaṇāni daśoktāni lakṣyante tāvadāditaḥ/
Grahāṁśau mandratārau ca nyāsapanyāsau tathā//
Atha saṁnyasa-vinyāsau vahutvaṃ cālpatva tathā/
Lakṣaṇāni daśaitāni rāgāṇāṃ munayo'vruvan//

So, from all these evidences, it will not be irrelevant to say that the *jātis*, as defined and described in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, were the *rāgas* (causal) themselves.

In connection with the *jātis*, Bharata has dealt with the downward and upward movements (*mandra* and *tāra gatis*), four *varṇas* like *ārohī*, *avarohī*, *sthāyī* and *sañcārī*, different *alaṁkāras* like *prasannādi*, *prasannānta*, *prasannamadhya*, etc., *mūrcchanās* of the two *grāmas* like *uttaramandrā*, *rajanī*, etc., of the *jātis*. He has also described about the basic *grāmarāgas* like *ṣaḍjagrāma*, *madhyamagrāma*, *ṣāḍava*, *pañcama*, *sādhārita*, *kaiśika* and *kaisika-madhyama*, which were elaborately depicted with notations in the rock-cut Kudumiāmālai Inscription, installed by the Pallava Rāja, Rājā Mahendravurman, in the 7th century A.D., at the Padukotāi State, South India. In the 32nd chapter (cf. Vārānasī ed.), he has mentioned:

Mukhe tu madhyamagrāmaḥ ṣaḍjaṃ pratimukhe smṛtaḥ/
Sādhāritaṃ tathā garbhe marśe kaiśikamadhyamaḥ//
Kaiśikañca tathā kāryaṃ gānaṃ nirvahane vudhaiḥ/ etc.

These basic *grāmarāgas* were probably practised even in the pre-Christian era, as we find the statement of

Brahmā or Brahmābharata, as quoted by Mataṅga in the Bṛhaddeśī:

> "Mukhe tu madhyamagrāmaḥ ṣaḍjaḥ pratimukhe bhavet/
> Garbhe sādhāritaścaiva-avamarśe * * tu pañcamaḥ//
> Citrasyāṣṭādaśāṅgasya tvante kaiśikamadhyamaḥ/
> Śuddhānāṃ viniyogo'yaṃ brahmanā samudāhṛtaḥ//

These *ślokas* are similar to those, described by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Vārānasī ed., 32 chapt. 453-454).

The 31st and 32nd chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are very important, as they deal elaborately with the topics of *vādya* and classical *nāṭyagīti* like *dhruvā*. The 31st chapter contains at least 545 *ślokas*, and the 32nd one, nearly 484 *ślokas*. According to Bharata, *tāla* was known as '*ghana*' and time or *kāla* as interlinked with *tāla*. The *kalāpāta* was known as *laya*, and *laya* was divided into three, slow (*vilamvita*), medium (*madhya*) and rapid (*druta*). Again *kalās* were considered as divided into three parts, *citrā*, possessing two *mātrās*, *vārtika*, possessing four *mātrās*, and *dakṣiṇā*, possessing eight *mātrās*. Bharata says that *tāla* or time-unit used to be known by the measure of the *kalā*: "*kalā- kāla-pramāṇena tāla ityabhidhiyate*" (31. 7). The *tāla* was of two kinds, soundless or beatless (*n'śābda*) and with sound or beat (*sa-śabda*). The soundless or beatless *tālas* were of four kinds, *śamyā*, *tāla*, *dhruvā* and *sannipāta*. Bharata has elaborately described these *tālas* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. These *tālas* were again divided into slow, medium and rapid tempi (*layas*).

Bharata has further described about *vastu* and *vidārī*, of which a *vastu* was the part or form of a song, whereas a *vidārī* was the completion of a *pada* and a *varṇa*. The

musical essentials like *aṁśa*, *nyāsa*, *apanyāsa*, etc. were also known as *vastu*. In fact, the dictionary meaning of a *vidārī* was a part or a division of a tone (*svara*) or a song (*gāna*). A *vidārī* was divided into *samudga*, *ardha-samudga*, and *vivṛta*. Besides, it was further divided into *mahā-vidārī*, and *avāntara-vidārī*. In fact, the short divisions of a song or an *ālāpa* was known as a *vidārī*, and so, in that sense, the ancient divisions (*dhātus*) of a song like *udgrāha*, *dhruva*, *melāpaka*, etc. and also the modern *dhātus* like *sthāyī*, *antarā*, *sañcārī* and *ābhoga* are also known as *vidārī*.

Like *vidārī*, Bharata has dealt with the definitions of *yati* and *prakaraṇa*, which were essential in connection with *tāla* or rhythm. A *yati* was no other than a method of application of a tempo (*laya*) of a *tāla*. It was of three kinds, and they were, *samā*, *srotogatā* and *gopucchā*. Besides there were *yatis* like *damaru*, *pipīlikā*, etc. The *yatis* used to differ from one another for the arrangements of different tempi (*layas*). The function of a *prakaraṇa* was to make the songs (*gītis*) like *madraka*, *vardhamānaka*, etc, ready for singing. There were 14 kinds of *prakaraṇa-gītis*, and they were *madraka*, *aparāntaka*, *ullopyaka*, *prakarī*, *obeṇaka*, *rovindaka* as well as *uttara*, *chandaka*, *āsārita*, *pāṇika*, *ṛc*, *gāthā* and *sāma*. These *prakaraṇa-gītis* were sung in praise of Śiva in ancient times, and so they were known as the *Śivastutis*.

Bharata has elaborately dealt with the *dhruvā* type of dramatic songs in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He has said that they were 464 in number, and were divided into *sama* and *viṣama*. The *sama-dhruvās* were posseessed of *vṛttas* and *akṣaras*. The *dhruvās* had in them five categories like

jāti, *sthāna*, *prakaraṇa*, *pramāṇa* and *nāma*. The *dhruvāgītis* like *prāvesika*, *naiṣkrāmika* *ākṣepita*, *prāsādīka* and *sāntara* were used in different functions of the dramatic performances (*abhinayas*). They were also known as *prāvesikī*, *naiṣkrāmikī*, *ākṣepikī*, *prāsādikī* and *sāntarā* or *antarā*. The *prāsādikī* type of *dhruvās* used to create calmness, as it was saturated with pleasing and soothing aesthetic qualities. The *prāveśikī-dhruvās* were used when any character first appeared on the scene. The *naiṣkrāmikī* ones were used when character left the stage. The *ākṣepikī* ones were at the discretion of the author of eminence in situations, not usually allowed. The *prāveśikī* ones were used for bridging the gulf between two successive situations of contrary emotional appeals. The *sāntarā* ones were used to cover the faults in the dramas or to smoothen over unexpected sudden incidents like height of anger, sorrow, forgetfulness, sleep, maden, fainting, falling down, etc. Vidwān Vāsudeva Śāstrī of Tānjore has said that "the *prāveśikī-dhruvā* has changed its name to *dharu* in Tāmil and Telugu stage. In the dance-dramas, that were revived in Telugu and Tāmil in the Vijayanagara or Carnātic Empire (called *dhruvās*), formed an integral part and were always accompanied by *nṛtya*, for which dance-syllables or *jātis* were added in some cases by the author himself".

In connection with the above-mentioned five kinds of *dhruvā*, Bharata has discussed about the significance of the *gāndharva*, constituted out of *svara*, *tāla* and *pada*. The meanings of *svara* and *tāla* are clear. The word *pada* connotes the idea of a song or songs in a drama, as distinguished from songs not intended for the stage, called *prabandhas*. The dramatic performance or visual representation by gestures being an invariable feature of drama, *padas* were

always accompanied by *abhinaya*. Vidwān Vāsudeva Śāstri says: "The characteristic of a *pada* is, therefore, that it is intended for *nṛtya* or dance with gesticulation. When *nṛtya* or dance with gesticulation came to be cultivated as a separate art, *padas* as special species of musical composition, came to take an established place in musical composition, along with *prabandhas* which were not intended for *nṛtya*. The characteristic of a *pada*, as distinguished from other musical compositions, is that it is full of *bhāva* or aesthetic and emotional appeal, and is generally intended for *nṛtya*, though it can also be sung without such accompaniment".

It should be remembered that Śāstrījī has explained that the *padams* are no other than the special type of emotional and lyrical musical compositions, which are used in the Carṇātic music. This type of songs or compositions owe much to *pada*, as described in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In fact, the fountain-head of the Carṇātic *padams* is the *pada*, an indispensible constituent of the *gāndharva*, as mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Bharata has used the word *pada* in the sense of songs to be used in the drama or *abhinaya*. Bharata has said that *pada* forms the *vastu* of the *gāndharva* type of music, and for that reason the tones (*svara*) and rhythm (*tāla*) are easily realised. The *padas* are constituted out of the combination of letters (*akṣaras*), and when the *padas* are bound by *rāga*, *tāla*, *yati*, *dhātu*, *aṅga*, etc., they are known as the *nibaddha* type of songs (*prabandha*). Similarly the *padas* which were not bound by any *tāla*, etc. were known as the *anibaddha* type of songs, and they were like the *ālāpa* or *ālapti*. And so they were also described as *satāla* or with any rhythm, and *atāla*, without any rhythm. Bharata has said that the *nibaddha* type of *padas*

was possessed of *chanda*, *yati*, *akṣara*, etc.[1] In fact, the *dhruvās* were also known as *padas* or ancient *prabandhas*, accompanied by *tāla*, *yati*, *laya*, *chanda*, *rasa* and *bhāva*. The *rāgas* that were used in the *dhruvās*, were known as *jātis* or *jātirāgas*.

Bharata has described about the *grāmarāgas* like *madhyamagrāma*, *ṣaḍjagrāma*, *sādhārita*, *kaiśika*, etc, and the *gītis* like *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, *sambhāvitā* and *pṛthulā* were used as the parts of *dhruvā-gītis*. The *dhruvās* were applied according to suitable place and time. Both men and women took part in singing the *dhruvās* when they were used in the drama. Bharata says that naturally women took part in singing, because they were possessed of sweet voice and adept in the art of singing, whereas men were adept in the art of drama. Sometime both took part in singing and acting for their extra-qualities.

Bharata has also mentioned about different kinds of musical instruments. He has dealt with the *veeṇās* like *citrā* and *vipañcī*. The *citrā-veeṇā* was possessed of seven strings. The *citrā* is the forerunner of the modern *sitāra*. The *vipañcī-veeṇā* was possessed of nine strings. Besides, he

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1 Praveśikī tu prathama dvitīyāsepikī smṛta/,
Prāsādikī tṛtīya ca caturthī cāntara dhruvā//,
Naiṣkrāmikī ca vijñeya pañcamī ca dhruvā vudhaiḥ/
Etāsāṃ caiva vyakṣāmī cchandovṛtta-nidarśaṇaṃ//
Gāndharvaṃ yanmayā proktaṃ svara-tāla-padātmakaṃ/,
Padaṃ tasya bhavedvastu svara-tālānubhāvakaṃ//,
Yat kiñcidakṣarakṛtaṃ tat sarvam pada-samjñitaṃ/
Nibaddhaścānibaddhañca tat padaṃ dvibhidaṃ smṛtaṃ//,
Atālañca satālañca dviprakārañca tad-bhavet/,
Satālañca dhruvārtheṣu nibaddhaṃ tacca vai smṛtaṃ// etc.
—*Nāṭyaśāstra* (Vārānasī ed., 32nd chapt, 23-30).

has mentioned about the *veeṇās* like *kacchapī*, *dāravī*, *ghoṣakā*, etc. He has also described about the drums like *puṣkara*, *jhallarī*, *patāha*, *dardura*, *paṇava*, *dhakkinī*, etc. He has mentioned about different kinds of classical dances with hand-poses, which were used in the dramatic performances.

CHAPTER III

THE JĀTIS AS DESCRIBED IN BHARATA'S NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA

Controversies rage round the meaning or significance of the term *'jāti'* as described by Bharata. Some scholars are of opinion that there is no mention of the word *'rāga'* in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. But their views are not correct, as we find the word *'rāga'* has explicitly been mentioned and explained at least in five places of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and they are. (1) *"Jātirāgam śrutiscaiva"* (Vārānasī ed. NS. 28·35), (2) *"Yasmin vasati rāgastu"* (21·72), (3) *Rāga-mārga-prayojakaḥ"* (31·39), (4) *"Evamenaṃ vinā gānaṃ nāṭyaṃ rangaṃ na gacchati"* (32·350), (5) *"Sālagā rāgaḥ saṃgharṣa eva ca"* 32·475).

Some are inclined to take the word *'jāti'* to mean 'genus' in a collective sense, and they say that the word *'rāga'* in the technical sense of 'melody' would hardly be found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and Bharata, therefore, used the word *'jāti'* in the sense of 'genus'. This view was maintained mainly by Captain Day and some European exponents of Indian music. We think that Captain Day made a mistake when he stated, "And some centuries later when *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* was written, the word *'rāga'* appeared to have been substituted for *jāti* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*". The critical students of Indian music will find an inconsistency in Captain Day's statement, because it is a historical fact that long before Śāraṅgdeva of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (early 13th century), Mataṅga fully defined and discussed

about the *rāga* side by side with the *jāti* in the *Bṛhaddeśī* of the 5th-7th century A.D. Mataṅga has said:

Rāga-mārgasya yad-rūpaṃ yannoktaṃ bharatādibhiḥ/
Nirūpyate tadasmābhir-lakṣya-lakṣaṇa-saṁyutaṃ//
Yo'sau dhvani-viśeṣastu svaravarṇa-vibhuṣitaḥ/
Rañjako jana-cittānāṃ sa ca rāga udāhṛitaḥ//

That is, "as Bharata and other ancient musicologists (like Kohala and Yāṣṭika) have not defined the word *rāga* in a definite way, let us take up the task. Now, a *rāga* is a kind of sound or *dhvani*, full of vowels, and it generates sweet vibrations that soothe the mind of all living beings". From this we must not apprehend that there was no system of *rāga* prevalent in the pre-Mataṅga time (i.e. before the 5th-7th century A.D.), and for which Bharata has not discussed about any *rāga*-feature in rhe *Nāṭyaśāstra*, rather it is to be taken that Bharata has already followed the tradition of depicting the *rāga*, as handed down from his revered predecessors like Brahmā, Sadāśiva and others. Bharata has mentioned about the *rāgas* in the term of *jātis*, and has already discussed about seven pure and eleven mixed parent *rāgas* (*jātirāgas*) in a scientific manner, with their salient features like ten essentials, *varṇas*, *alaṃkāras*, *mūrcchanās* and different aesthetic sentiments and moods. He has also admitted the fact that the *jātis* were the source or fountain-head of the *grāmarāgas* and other kinds of *rāgas*: '*jātisaṃbhūtatvād grāmarāgāni*'. Mataṅga has stated as to why the parent *rāgas* like *ṣāḍjī*, *ārṣabhī*, *gāndhārī*, *madhyamā*, *pañcamī*, *dhaivatī* and *naiṣādī* were known as *jātis*. He has stated in the *Brihaddeśī*: "*idānīṃ lakṣaṇamāha-śruti-graha-svarādi-samūhāj-jāyante jātayaḥ. Ato jātaya ityuchyante. Yasmājjāyate rasa-pratītir-ārabhyate iti jātayaḥ.*

Athavā sakalā rāgader-janma-hetutvājjātaya iti. Yadvā jātaya iti jātayaḥ. Yathā narāṇām brāhmaṇatvādayo jātayaḥ", which means that the *rāgas* are known as *jātis* because they were born of microtones or *śrutis*, initial notes or *grahas*, and clusters of tones. And, for that reason, they are so called (*jātis*). Or as the realization of aesthetic sentiments is possible from them, they are known as *jātis*. Or, being the source of all *rāgas*, they are known as *jātis*. Or they are called *jātis* in the sense of classes, as for example, the Brāhmiṇ, etc. forming classes of human being.

Attention may be drawn to the pure type of seven *jātis*, as mentioned in the Great Epic, *Rāmāyaṇa* of 400 B.C. Vālmīki has said that the wandering bards like Lava and Kuśa sang the *rāmāyaṇa-gāna* before the Royal Court of Rāmacandra, and the *gānas* were presented with seven *jātis* or *jātirāgas*, accompanied by *mūrcchanās* and *tānas* and with musical instruments like *veeṇā*, *mṛdaṅga*, etc. The tunes of the songs enchanted all of them who were present there. It is stated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (canto IV):

Pāṭhye geye ca madhuraṃ pramāṇaistribhiranvitaṃ/
Jātibhiḥ saptabhir-yuktaṃ tantrī-laya-samanvitaṃ// etc.

The portion of the *ślokas*: "*hlādayat sarva-gātrāṇi manāṃsi hṛdayāni ca, śrotrāśrayaṃ sukhaṃ*" etc. exactly coincides with the later definition of *rāga*: "*śrotṛ-cittaṃ rañjayati iti rāgaḥ*", given by Mataṅga in the 5th-7th century A.D. Now, from the reference of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is evident that the *jātis* were the parent or basic *rāgas*, and they were the forerunners or precursors of all the later *rāgas*, *mārga* and *deśī*.

The Mimāṁsakas and the Vedāntists of India have recognised the *jāti* as universal or *sāmānya*, as distinct from

individual or *viśeṣa*. The universal or *sāmānya* is considered as eternal and unchanging, whereas the individual or *viśeṣa* is involved with change, decay and death, being the product of the universal. The Greek philosopher Plato called it the Type or Idea, which is permanent. Similarly, the *jātis*, as described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, might be taken as universals and, therefore, unchanging, and all other *rāgas*, being the product as individuals, are changing. Bharata and his followers believe in the potentialities of the *jātis*, and so they have maintained that the *jātis* must be considered as universals or genus, and the later evolved *rāgas* as *vyaktis* or species. Again the *jātis* and the *vyaktis* are not altogether different from each other, being the cause and the effect, and, for that reason, the designing of the effect is possible from the knowledge of the cause, the *jātis*.

Now, on the basis of this cause-effect or genus-species theory, some say that Bharata has not written any special chapter on the *rāga-rāgiṇīs*, as they were in vogue in his time, but has only given an elaborate scheme of the *jātis* or types, and that does not prove that there were no *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* prevalent in his time. The *rāga-rāgiṇīs* as such are individuals from the generic character, of which the conception of *jātis* can be formed, just as we form an idea of the individual from the *jāti* or type, to which they belonged. So it is not wise to conclude that during the time of Bharata, the *jātis* were only prevalent and not the *vyaktis* or individualized modes of *rāga-rāgiṇīs*, since *jāti* and *vyakti* are correlative to each other.

But this view is also untenable, as the students of history of Indian music fully know that in the beginning of the classical period (600-500 B.C.), when the *gāndharva* type of music was designed with the materials of the Vedic

music, the seven *jātis* or *jātirāgas* were only prevalent in the society as the individualized modes of *rāga*. It has been mentioned before that in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, these seven basic *jātis* were described in connection with the *rāmāyaṇa-gāna*. In the classical period i. e. from 600-500 B.C. to 2nd-3rd century A.D., there were prevalent no other *rāgas* or *rāginīs* than the seven to eighteen basic *rāgas* in the form of *jātis*. The *janya-janaka* scheme like *jātirāga-grāmarāga*, viz. cause-effect principle perhaps evolved in the beginning of the Christian era. The *rāga-rāgiṇī* scheme in the form of masculine-feminine principle also evolved at a more recent date, in the middle of the mediaeval period, though the nucleus of it was found in the *ālāpa-ālapti* scheme in the 9th-11th century, as evidenced in Pārśvadeva's *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*. But it is quite sure that during Bharata's time, the *jātis* were only prevalent and played the role of the *rāga*.

There are prevalent some other views regarding *jātis*. According to some, the *jātis*, as depicted in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, were the music-parts or notations of the *dhruvās* and not the *rāgas* in themselves. The *dhruvās*, according to them, were the ready-made compositions or *sāhitya* and *saṅgīta*, and they were sung during the interval between the two acts of drama and also during public or household festivals in eulogy of the deities. So the *jātis* were the closed forms of music and as such were the precursors of the *rāgas*. When music began to be considered as an art independent of *sāhitya*, the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* seem to have come into being. And though Bharata has mentioned the word '*rāga*' in the term of *aṁsha*, it does not occur in its *yogarūḍha* meaning. It stands only for musical value in general, and does not occur in its technical sense, though the origin of

rāgas is in the *jātis*, the music-parts of the ancient closed forms. During the time of Śārańgdeva or even a few centuries before him, the *jātis* began to fall into the background, giving place to the *rāgas*.

But this view is not wholly correct. It is true that during the time of Śārańgdeva or even a few centuries before him, the *jātis* began to fall into the background, giving place to the more methodical system of *rāgas*, but yet it is true at the same time that it is Bharata who has for the first time systematised the Indian classical music in a very scientific manner. Moreover he has fully dealt with the theory of *jātis*, *dhruvās*, and other forms of music, together with dance and drama in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It is clear from his description of the *jātis* that they were not really intended to be the notations or counterparts of the *dhruvās* (*dhruvāgānas*). Bharata has devoted two long separate chapters to these two types of *gānas*, *jāti* and *dhruvā*, current in his time. In fact, the *jātis* were the *rāgas* as well as the *gānas*, as we find both the references of *jātirāga* and *jātigāna* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Bharata has treated the *jātis* as the ancient primary *rāgas* and the *dhruvās* as the stage or dramatic songs, quite different from the Vedic Psalms that were confined to the community of the *sāgnika* Sāmagas. Regarding the *dhruvās*, Bharata has said that they were a class of hymnal or devotional songs with different metrical settings (*chanda-nibaddha*), purely used for dramatic purposes ('*pūrvarańga-vidhāne tu*'). He has also admitted in the chapter of the *dhruvāgāna* that he has previously discussed about the *gāndharva-gāna*, which was composed of *svara*, *tāla* and *pada*, and after that he has expounded the types of different *dhruvās*, possessed of *svara*, *tāla* and *pada*. The *dhruvās* were included in the category of

the *gāndharva-gāna*. The *dhruvās* used to be demonstrated with the help of orchestra (*kutapa*), composed of both stringed instruments and a variety of drums. So it should be taken that the *jātis* were the *rāgas*, and the *dhruvās* were the *gānas*, and though it has been mentioned that the *jātis* were both *rāgas* and *gānas*, yet Bharata has used the word '*jāti*' in the strict sense of '*rāga*' i.e. parent *rāga*. Again the *jātis*, which have been described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, had an independent existence of their own, whereas the *dhruvās* were somehow or other dependent upon the *jātis* for their complete manifestation. So the *jātis* shall not be called the notations of the *dhruvās*, but they were *rāgas* by themselves.

Further it is to be noted that apart from the *grāma-rāgas*, the later formalised *deśī rāgas* had also their origin in the *jātis*, and it has been supported by Mataṅga in the *Bṛhaddeśī*: "*yat kiñcid etad gīyate loke tat sarvaṃ jātiṣu sthitaṃ*". Therefore naturally and reasonably it is proved that the *jātis*, being the cause of all kinds of *rāgas*, *mārga* and *deśī*, were the *rāgas* by themselves, just as the seeds of the oak trees give birth to oak trees only and not to any other trees of different species. The forms, types and methods of presentation of the causal *jātis* (*jātirāgas*) might not be similar to or exactly coincide with those of the later evolved *rāgas*, but (their claim of heredity can never be disputed or ignored. So from all points of view and discussion, it can be concluded that Bharata has neither used the word '*rāga*' in the sense of *yogarūḍha*, nor in those of *jahad* and *ajahad lakṣaṇās*, but has used it in the sense of that which it really contained in itself. The *jātis*, as mentioned and discussed by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, were, therefore, the *rāgas* (parent or causal), from which all kinds of *rāgas* were born in the domain of Indian music.

CHAPTER IV

ANCIENT MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF INDIA

Music is divided into two sections, vocal and instrumental, and this division was prevalent even in the most ancient time in all the civilized countries of the world. In India, musical instruments were broadly divided into four classes: (1) *tata* or stringed instruments, played by fingers or plectrums ; (2) *vitata* or musical instruments, covered with skin, and played by hands or sticks ; (3) *ghana* or musical instruments which produced resonance by the concussion of two solid bodies ; and (4) *śuṣira* or wind instruments. Sometimes the musical instruments are divided into three classes like *tata*, *vitata* and *tata-vitata*. But regarding the divisions of the musical instruments of India, we find that most of the authors of drama and music have divided them into four kinds, *tata*, *suṣira*, *avanaddha* and *ghana*. But some have also divided them into three classes. As for example, Bharata has said in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*:

> Tatam caivāvanaddhaṃ ca ghanaṃ suṣirameva ca/
> Caturvidhaṃ tu vijñeyaṃ ātodyaṃ lakṣaṇānvitaṃ//
> Tataṃ tantrīgataṃ jñeyaṃ avanaddhaṃ tu pauṣkaraṃ/
> Ghanaṃ tālastu vijñeyaḥ suṣiraṃ vaṁśamucyate//

The musicologist, Haripāladeva has said in the *Saṅgīta-sudhākara*:

> Vādyaṃ caturdhā suṣiraṃ tataṃ vitatakaṃ ghanaṃ/
> Tatra vaṁśādi suṣiraṃ bhaved-veeṇādikaṃ tataṃ//
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> Syānmṛdaṅgādi vitataṃ bhavettālādikaṃ ghanaṃ/

The ancient musicologist, Kohala has said,

Pañcadhā ca caturdhā ca trividaṃ ca mate mate,
Kohalasya mate khyātaṃ pañcadha vādyameva ca/
Suṣiraṃ ca ghanaṃ caiva carmabaddhaṃ tathaiva ca,
Tantrīgānaṃ purā khyātaṃ pañcadhā
vādya-lakṣanaṃ//

Nārada has said about the division:

Carmaṇā tāntrīkaṃ caiva ghanaṃ ca trividhaṃ
matam/
Evaṃ tridhā nāradasya mate vādyasya lakṣaṇaṃ//

Dattila has followed Bhatata and has said,

Ānaddhaṃ tatameva syād-ghanaṃ ca suṣi..
Evaṃ caturvidhaṃ vādyaṃ dattilena prakīrtitaṃ//

Sāraṅgdeva has followed Bharata and Dattila:

"Ṭattataṃ suṣiram cāvanaddhaṃ ghanamiti smṛtaṃ caturdhā * * ".

Now, if we study the history of music of all nations of the world, we find that they possessed the musical instruments to accompany their songs or to play them separately, and it is a fact that their musical instruments were divided into two, three or four main classes. The ancient Hebrew had a variety of musical instruments. In the Bible, the musical instruments have been divided into three main groups: (1) instruments of percussion, (2) wind-instruments, and (3) stringed instruments. Mr. Wanchope Stewart is of opinion that the instruments of percussion used to keep rhythms in dances and songs, and would probably be the first in the order of development, the rhythmical element in music being the feature which makes the strongest appeal to the primitive mind. The *toph*, *tabret* or *timbrel* was kind of hand-drum, formed



The Mrdanga-player, Konark, Puri
(11th—13th Century A.D.)



The Mrdanga-player Konark, Puri
(11th—13th Century A.D.)



The Flute-player, Konark, Puri



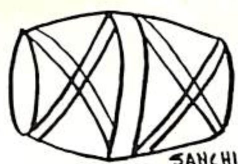
The Cymbal-player, Konark, Puri

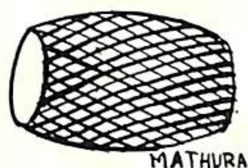


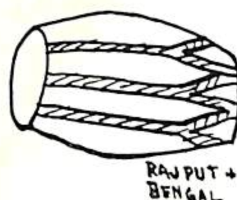












1. The Mrdanga-player, Halebid.
2. The Mrdanga-player, Halebid.
3. The Mrdanga-player, Khiching (Mayurbhanj)
4. The drums (a) of Mathura, (b) of Rajputana, (c) of Bengal









1. The drum, Sanchi
2. The drum, Bharut
3. The drum, Gandhar
4. The drum, Amaravati

of a frame of wood, with a piece of skin, stretched over it. The usual shape of it was circular. The *mesiltraim* and *selselim* were made of brass, and they were used mainly for religious and magical purposes.

The stringed instruments of the Hebrews were played either with the hand or with plectrum. The bow-instrument, the precursor or forerunner of the lute or Indian *veeṇā* was almost unknown to the ancient Hebrews.

The ancient Greeks and Romans also did not know the use of the bow-instruments. Their lute-type of stringed instruments used to be plucked with fingers or beaten with a small plectrum, made of bone or wood. Their stringed instruments were divided into two main classes: the older simple and the instruments with large square sounding board. The original number of strings were seven like those of the Indian *citrā-veeṇā*, as described in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Besides the seven-stringed lyre, there was also in common use a number of different harplike instruments, with a far greater number of strings. Among other instruments, cymbals, kettle-drums and castanets were in use.

In ancient Babylon and Assyria, musical instruments were divided into three classes, percussion, wind and stringed. The instruments of percussion like drum (Sumerian *āla* and Semitic *ālu*) would seem to have been used. Mr. T. G. Pinches has said that the earlier forms of percussion were very large, and were found indeed in one relic of about 2500 B.C. The stringed instruments like harp, the earliest example of which goes to 2500 B.C., the dulcimer, the primitive form of which goes before 2500 B.C., lyre, cithara, guiter, etc. were also in use. The wind-instruments like pipe, whistle or flute, trumpet, horn, etc. were also in practice.

The early American musical instruments were divided into three main classes, percussion, wind and stringed. Mr. Brinton has mentioned at least four classes of stringed instruments of primitive type in the hands of American aborigines. The most important musical instrument of the Native Americans was the drum. H. B. Alexander has said that the drum varied in type from the Eskimo tambourine-like hoop with taut-skin, though single- and double-headed instruments, great or small, culminating in the huge snake-skin drum, whose blooming from the temple of the Aztec war-god, brought dread to the heart of the Spaniards. The *teponaztli* of the ancient Aztecs was the most interesting of the native drums, and "it consisted of a hollow block, in which were cut two tongues of differing thickness, whose vibrations produced tones commonly in the interval of a third, although drums have been found containing interval of a fourth, of a fifth, of a sixth, and of an octave".

Mr. Alexander has said that next to drum, the native instrument was the Indian flageolet or flute, which seemed to evolve from the bone whistle with a single vent or stop. In its developed form, it was provided with a mouth-piece and had three, four, five or six finger-holes. Again, while discussing about "Prehistoric Art" (vide *Report of US. National Museum*, Washington, 1896, p. 524ff), Mr. T. Wilson has written that the whistles and flutes, made of human or animal bones, have been found in the deposits of the palaeolithic and neolithic ages, the flutes being pierced with holes at regular intervals or consisting of two holes, which, when joined, would make modulated tunes. Although these discoveries seem to give priority to wind instruments, it is obvious that others—*e.g.*, drums of wood

with skin covering—being of more perishable material, were less likely to be preserved".[1]

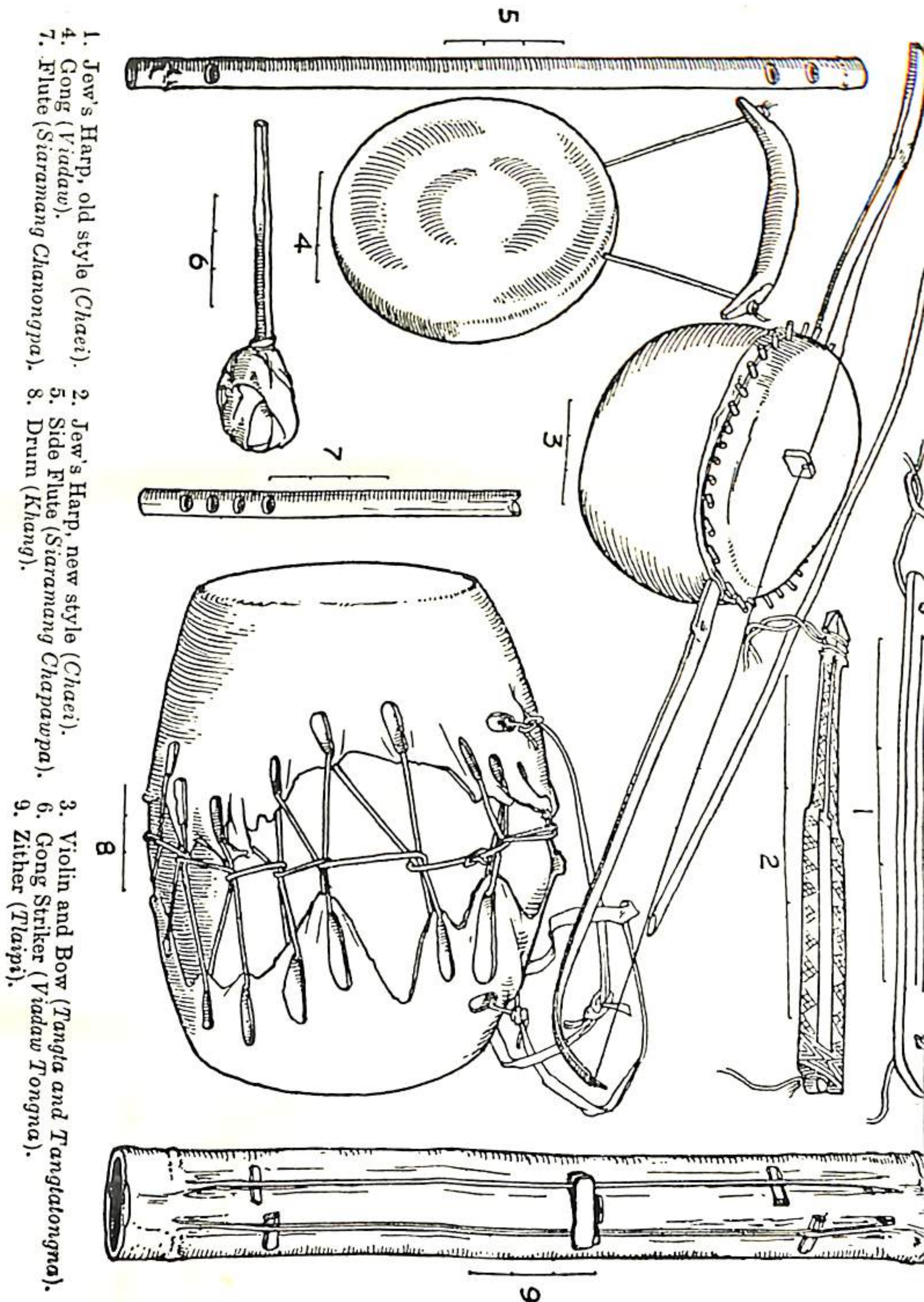
The most ancient musical instruments of India were *veeṇā*, *veṇu* or *vaṁśa* and *puṣkara* or *mṛdaṅga*. But controversies rage round the question as to which of the musical instruments, drum, bow-instrument or flute (pipe) was the most ancient. Some are of opinion that flute or pipe was the most ancient type of musical instruments, while others maintain that drum was anterior to flute as well as bow in date. The latter view seems to be more rational and historical.

J. A. MacCulloch is also in favour of the latter view. He has said that nearly every tribe or race has musical instruments of some sort, the exceptions being found at the lowest stage of culture. "As the instances among peoples without musical instruments would seem to show, instruments of percussion—some form of drum, which is well-neigh universal—may have been invented first. Stringed instruments probably came next—the hunter's bow, as with the Damaras, being easily convertible into a primitive form of these. Wind instruments, at least in their more elaborate forms, were probably invented last".[1] In the most ancient Vedic literature, we find descriptions of crude earthen and wooden drums, covered with the skins of the wild animals. In the *Ṛgveda*, *Sāmaveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda* and also in different *Brāhmaṇas*, we get references of drums like *bhūmi-dundubhi*, *dundubhi*, *paṇava*, *bhāṇḍa*, *karkarī*, etc.

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1 Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol, IX (1917), p. 17.

The *bhūmi-dundubhi* was perhaps the most ancient form of drum in India. The sound of the *bhūmi-dundubhi* was very grave and loud and far-reaching. It used to be carved out in earth in the form of a hollow or pit and covered with the thick skin of any wild animal. It used to be struck with one or two logs of wood, and the resulting deep resonant sound used to be heard from very distant places. During the *Brāhmaṇa* period, the *bhūmi-dundubhi* used to be struck by the tails of the animals. The sound of the *bhūmi-dundubhi* was often used as means of signaling some dangers or approach of the enemies. The *dundubhi* was sometimes shaped out of the hollow trunk of a tree, the upper part being covered with the skin of the animal. From the *Brāhmaṇa* literature we come to know that different kinds of beasts were offered in different sacrifices and rites. Specially in the Mahāvrata sacrifice, beasts were offered to the presiding deities, and their skins were used for making the drums like *bhūmi-dundubhi* and *dundubhi*. Well has it been said by Dr. A. B. Keith, in connection with the *Vedic Mahāvrata* (vide the '*Religions of India and Iran*', vol. II): "The Mahāvrata is by no means a bloodless sacrifice. There fall to be offered either one beast to be sacrificed to Indra and Agni or eleven animals; and in either case there is an additional sacrifice of a bull to Indra or to Prajāpati, and in the former case of a goat to Prajāpati. Now the skin of the sacrificial animal was removed and used to form the drum (*bhūmi-dundubhi*), on which, with the tail of the victim, the priest made solemn music". The drum, *vanaspati* was also made in the same way. The *dundubhi* was somewhat a refined form of the *bhūmi-dundubhi*, and it was used to be made out of mud or



The Musical Instruments of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Primitive Stock

The Dhanuryantram, the Primitive Bow-type Instrument
(from South Africa)



A Lady playing a lute (*Veena*) with four strings, from the Ruper Excavation, datable to 200 B.C.—600 A.D.
(*By the permission of the Archaeological Dept., Govt. of India, Delhi*)

log.[1] The *puṣkara*, *mṛdaṅga*, and *bhāṇḍa-vādya* of the later date and the modern *pākhawāj* and *khola* are the prototypes of the ancient *dundubhi*.

The bow-instrument came into being perhaps after the drum. It was known as the *dhanuryantraṃ*. The bow was the most important weapon of the nomadic primitive tribes. They used to live in the hills and dales, and forests and caves of the mountains. Their main food was the raw or half-roasted flesh of the hunted animals, and so they used to hunt all kinds of wild animals with the help of the bows and the arrows. They were also used as means to produce high sounds for signalling dangers like those of the *bhūmi-dundubhi* and *dundubhi*. It has already been stated in my book, *Historical Development of Indian Music* that when the primitive savage men "became familiar with the use of iron, they began to hunt the wild animals and fight their enemies with the help of the bows and the arrows. Besides, other implements, the bows of bamboo used to serve the purpose of signalling the advent of the enemy or any other danger, as used to be served by the blazing flame of the fire. They used to produce the reverberating grave sounds by pulling the gut string of the

1 In Śāraṅgdeva's *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, we find a different description about the ancient musical instrument, *dundubhī*. Śāraṇgdeva has said (vide *Abhinavabharata-sārasaṁgraha*, p. 84):

Āmradruma-samudbhūto mahāgātro mahādhvaniḥ/,
Kaṁsybhājana-sambhāragarbho valaya-varjitaḥ//,
Carma-vaddhānano vaddho vadhrairgādhaṃ samantataḥ/,
Dṛḍha-carmeṇa koṇena vādyo varṇena dundubhiḥ//,
Megha-nirghoṣa-gambhīra-ghonikārasyātra mukhyatā/,
Maṅgale vijaye caiva vādyate devatālaye//

Here we find the new modified form of the ancient *dundubhi*.

bow (*jyā-śabda* or *dhanuṣṭaṅkāra*). That sound might be regarded as the source of their inspirarion for designing and constructing the musical instrument of the primitive people. The curvature of the bow supplied the idea of the method of constructing the body of their crude *veeṇā* and the connecting gut string. It is interesting to note that the shape of the primitive *veeṇā* was curved like the body of the bamboo bow. It was like the ancient lyres and harps, to some extent. The primitive men made the string of the *veeṇā* out of the intestines of the wild animals, fastened them to the two extremes of its bent body and used to play it by plucking the string of the bow with the fingers. It seems that in the beginning, a single gut string was used to produce a mono sweet but grave sound. Gradually additions and alterations were made to improve the structure of the *veeṇā* and to increase the number of its sound, together with their tonal qualities. The primitive men sometimes connected two horizontal bars of bamboo or wood, fastened a gut string to the two ends of the bars, thus forming a triangle. This type resembles the ancient Georgia, Caucasus and Finland types of lyre to some extent".

In the third stage, evolved the flute or pipe. It is said that the sound, produced from the friction of air against the hollow part of the trunks of the trees, specially bamboo gave rise to the flute or pipe. The pipe was probably made out of the reed by making holes in it. Gradually it was fashioned out of wood and bone. The hole in the pipe was in imitation of the hollow part of the trunk of the tree. In the early stage, there was only one hole in the pipe, and gradually with the evolution of the tones, the holes were increased. Generally the pipes, in the primitive

period, possessed only two or three holes to produce two or three tones, low or high, or low, medium and high. All the songs, produced at that time, were in downward trend (*avarohaṇa-gati*).

Now it can be imagined that drum being the most ancient form of musical instruments of the world, the primitive savage men used to practise their simple songs with two tones, upper and lower, in accompaniment of the drums only, to maintain rhythm and tempo in their songs and dances. They used to sing and dance as a means to break the monotony of their work-a-day life. There was certainly a starting basic tone in their songs, and most probably that basic tone used to be tempered with the tune of the drum.

In the Vedic times, the *sāmans* were sung to the accompaniment of different kinds of musical instruments like lute, pipe or flute, bow-instrument and drum. It has already been said that in the primitive period, the bow and pipe of reed, wood or bone had already been evolved, and were used by the primitive men. From the prehistoric mounds of the Indus Valley cities, crude form of bows or lutes, pipes and drums have been discovered, and they certainly substantiate the facts mentioned above. With the development of intellect, the skill and propensity of the Vedic people became more advanced and keen, and as such they gave shape to more developed form of lutes out of bamboo or wood for their bodies, *muñjā* grass or intestines of animals for strings, etc. The scale of the songs of the Vedic people was extended, and it consisted of four, five, six and even seven tones. The starting tone of the songs was always in the upper or high pitch, and the songs had the tendency to flow downward, as has been said before. The

Vedic music, being more developed than the primitive and prehistoric ones, possessed three registers (*sthānas*), a fixed scale, rhythm and tempo. The basic tone of the Vedic songs as well as the tones or tunes of the lutes (*veeṇās*) and pipes (*vaṁśas*) were tempered with that of the drum or drums, and this tradition has been handed down from the primitive and prehistoric times. During the time of Bharata (2nd century A.D.), we find the method of tuning (*mārjanā*) with the help of three drums or *puṣkaras*. Bharata has fully described the ancient traditional method of tuning (*mārjanā*) in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (vide the Kāvyamālā edition, chapt. XXXIV, and the Vārānasī edition, chapt. XXXIII, 92-97). Regarding the tuning process, Bharata has said,

Māyūrī hyardha-māyūrī tathā karmāravī punaḥ/
Tisrastu mārjanā jñeyāḥ puṣkareṣu svarāśrayāḥ//
Gāndhāro vāmake kāryaḥ ṣaḍjo dakṣiṇa-puṣkare/
Urdhvage madhyamaścaiva māyūryaśca svarāśrayāḥ//
Vāmake puṣkare ṣaḍja ṛṣabho dakṣiṇe tathā/
Dhaivataścordhvage kāryaḥ ardha-māyūrakāśrayāḥ//
Ṛṣabhaḥ puṣkare vāme ṣaḍjo dakṣiṇa-puṣkare/
Pañcamaścordhvage kāryaḥ karmāravyāḥ svarāsrayāḥ//
Eteṣāmanuvādī tu jātirāga-svarānvitaḥ/
Āliṅge mārjanaṃ prāpya niṣādastu vidhīyate//
Māyūrī madhyame grāme'pyardhā ṣaḍje tathaiva ca/
Karmāravī caiva kartyavyā sādhāraṇa-samāśrayāḥ//

That is, there were three kinds of *mārjanā*, and they were known as *māyūrī*, *ardha-māyūrī* and *karmāravī*. Among those methods, the *māyūrī* used to be tuned in the middle cleft (*madhyamagrāma*), the *ardha-māyūrī*, in the first cleft (*ṣaḍjagrāma*) and the *karmāravī*, in the third cleft (*gāndhāragrāma*), based on the *sādhāraṇa*. The term

'*sādhāraṇa*' connotes the idea of an intermediate one between two tones. The tones, to which the *puṣkara*-drums were tuned, were based on the microtones or *śruti-sādhāraṇa*, and were sustained and used in the tuning process. The remaining tones of the scale were shiftable or transferable. In the process of the *māyūrī-mārjanā*, the tone, *gāndhāra* used to be tuned on the left *puṣkara* (as there were three *puṣkaras*, two horizontal and one leaning), the tone, *ṣaḍja*, on the right, *puṣkara*, and the tone, *pañcama*, on the upper *puṣkara*. In the *karmāravī-mārjanā*, the tone, *ṛṣabha* used to be tuned in the left *puṣkara*, the *saḍja* on the right, and the *pañcama*, on the upper *puṣkara*. The tone, *ṛṣabha* which is the consonance or *anuvādī* to these three tones and is related to the *rāgasvara* of the *jāti* (*jātirāga*), used in the *mārjanā* of the *āliṅga*.

Now, from this statement we find that in the *māyurī-mārjanā*, the *puṣkara*-drums were tuned to the *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *dhaivata*, and in the *karmāravī-mārjanā*, they were tuned to the tones, *ṛṣabha*, *pañcama* and *niṣāda*. In each of the methods of *tuning* (*mārjanā*), these three tones were considered as the primal ones of the *grāmas*. Some are of opinion that in the *māyūrī-mārjanā* of the *madhyamagrāma*, the positions of the microtones and the tones were exactly the same as those prevailing in the modern pure scale (*śuddha-thāṭa*), *vilāvala* of the North Indian school of music and the Diotonic Majore scale of Europe. The modern *śuddha-thāṭa*, *vilāvala* is no other than the *sādhāraṇa-grāma*, as maintained by Śāraṅgdeva of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* fame of the early 13th century A.D. It is interesting to note that Mahākavi Kālidāsa was fully aware of the utility and importance of the tuning process of the *māyurī-mārjanā*, and he mentioned about this process

in his drama, *Mālavāgnimitram*: "*māyūrī madayantī mārjanā manāgsī*", i.e. '*māyūrī-mārjanā* intoxicates the human mind'. From this it is evident that the tuning method of *māyūrī* was in practice in Kālidāsa's time (150 B.C.—400 or 450 A.D.). All the post-Bharata authors also adopted these ancient methods of tuning *māyūrī*, *ardha-māyūrī* and *karmāravī*, in their systems of music.

In the rock-cut temples of different places of India, carved in different ages, we find two or three drums of small size, engraved by the side of Śiva-Naṭarāja in dancing posture. Those drums are but the replicas of ancient *puṣkaras*. Three drums (*puṣkaras*) are also to be seen carved in the Mukteśvara temple of the 6th-7th century A.D., at Bhuvaneśvara and three others in the cave-temple of Bādāmi in Bombay of the 6th century A.D. Some are of opinion that two of these drums represent the two parts of a large drum, which used to be played horizontally, and the third one was small like the modern *tabal*. The small drum, known as *āliṅga* used to be placed on the lap of the player. Some of the drums represented in the sculptures of the 6th-7th century A.D. were chiselled in a different way. The modern *tabal* and *bāyāṅ* were perhaps shaped in imitation of the ancient *puṣkaras*. Some erroneously believe that the Persian and the Arabian artists and specially Āmir Khasrau, brought into use for the first time the *tabal* and the *bāyāṅ* during the time of Sultan Ālā-ud-dīn Khaljī in the 14th-15th century A.D., cutting the ancient *mṛdaṅga* (or *pākhawāj*) into two halves. But this view is untenable, and is absolutely conjectural, as the sculptural evidences of the ancient rock-cut temples of India disclose the fact that two or three drums (*puṣkaras*) of different

sizes were used in music and dance in India long before the advent of the Persians and the Arabs as well as before the Muhammedan rule. The ancient method of tuning with the help of the *puṣkaras* came to be gradually replaced by the tempering of the string instruments, but exactly when and how the new method was adopted, we do not know.[1]

In the beginning of the classical period (600-500 B.C.), we find the emergence of the *gāndharva* type of music, designed by assimilating most of the materials of the Vedic music, by the Gandharva class of semi-divine people of the Gāndhāradeśa. Music of this period was consequently more developed than the Vedic one, having a scientific basis of its own, and was mainly known by the *jātis* as its melodies. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.), the seven pure *jātis* (melodies) like *ṣāḍjī*, *ārṣabhī*, *gāndhārī*, *madhyamā*, *pañcamī*, *dhaivatī* and *naiṣādī* have been mentioned ("*jāti-bhiḥ saptabhi-ruktaṃ tantrī-laya-samanvitaṃ*"), and it is believed that the use of the *svara-maṇḍala* was also in

1 In modern time, the method of tuning is generally worked out by the process of tempering two of the strings of the *tumburu* or *tumburu-veeṇā* in mostly the tones, *ṣaḍja* and *pañcama* or *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*. The *ṣaḍja* being the drone or tonic. the tones, *ṛṣabha* and *gāndhāra* are produced from the vibrations of the *ṣaḍja* of the middle base (*mudārā*), and *dhaivata* and *niṣāda*, from the vibrations of the *ṣaḍja* of the lower base (*udārā*), and the rest. *madhyama* is produced from the concordant tone, *pañcama*. Though there prevails different views regarding it, yet it should be remembered that the modern method of tuning is always done in the *ṣaḍjagrāma*, which is very ancient.

practice at that time. Regarding the *svaramaṇḍala*, Nārada has said in the *Śikṣā*:

> Sapta-svarātrayo grāmā mūrcchanāstvekoviṁśatiḥ/
> Tānā-ekonapañcāśadityetat svaramaṇḍalaṃ//

That is, seven tones (*laukika* like *ṣaḍja*, *ṛṣabha*, etc.), three *grāmas*, twenty-one *mūrcchanās*, forty-nine *tānas* constitute the *svaramaṇḍala*. From this it is understood that the *gāndharva* type of music used to be practised with three registers, different *mūrcchanās* and *tānas*. Vālmikī has informed us that the *gāndharva* type of songs of his time used to be pracrised in accompaniment of the musical instruments like *veeṇā*, *veṇu* and *mṛdaṅga*. The tunes of the musical instruments, together with that of the songs used to be tempered with the basic or standard tone of the drums.

In the beginning of the 28th chapter of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* (Vārānasī ed.), Bharata has described about the arrangement of different types of musical instruments to form an orchestra (*kutapa*), for the dramatic purposes. Musical instruments like *veeṇā veṇu*, and *puṣkara* (drum) were the constituent factors of the orchestra. The musical themes of the orchestra were based on the basic structure of the *jātis*, and the tones of the musical instruments for the orchestra used to be tempered with a basic tone. From Bharata's statement we learn that they used to be tempered with the tunes of the drums (*puṣkaras*). Bharata has mentioned about three kinds of orchestra, and they are: (1) "*kutapa-miti caturvidhātodya-bhāṇḍāni*", i.e. a *kutapa* means a combination of four kinds of musical instruments, such as *bhāṇḍa*, etc. (2) "*caturbidhātodyān kutapaṃ*", i.e. the four kinds of musical instruments form an orchestra.

(3) "*kutapaḥ samaveta-gāyana-vādaka-samūha*", i.e. an orchestra that is formed by a combination of different musicians and instrumentalists.

Now, what do we mean by a *bhāṇḍa-vādya*? The *bhāṇḍa-vādya* was like the *puṣkara* or *mṛdaṅga* (modern *pākhawāj*) to some extent. The orchestra used to be generally arranged along with the musicians and instrumentalists before the beginning of the dramatic play. While discussing about the stage (*raṅga-mañca*), Bharata has mentioned about the preliminaries of a play, and dance, playing of orchestra and recitals were the parts of the preliminaries. Regarding the preliminaries, Bharata has said in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Asyāṅgāni tu kāryāṇi yathāvadanupūrvaśaḥ/
Tantrī-bhāṇḍa-samāyogaiḥ pāṭhya-yogakṛtaistathā//
Pratyāharo'vataraṇaṃ tathā hyārambha eva ca/
Āśrāvaṇā vakrapāṇistathā ca parighaṭṭanā//
Saṁghoṭanā tataḥ kāryā mārgāsāritameva ca/
Jyeṣṭhamadhya-kaniṣṭhā ca tathaivāsārita kriyā//
Etāni tu vahirgītānyantaryavanikāgataiḥ/
Prayoktṛbhiḥ prayojyāni tantrī-bhāṇḍa-kṛtāni tu//

—*Nāṭyaśāstra*, V. 8-11

That is, the different parts of the preliminaries are to be performed in due order "with the playing of drums and stringed instruments as well as with recitatives (*pāṭhya*) are as follows: *pratyāhāra*, *avataraṇā*, *ārambha*, *vakrapāṇi*, *parighaṭṭana*, *saṁghoṭana*, *mārgāsārita* and *āsārita* of the long, medium and the short types. These songs outside (the performance of a play) are to be sung by persons behind the curtain to the accompaniment of drums and stringed instruments".

Then the curtain (*yavanikā*) of the stage used to be removed, and after the removal of the curtain, dances and recitals were to be performed with the playing of all musical instruments, which were known as *kutapa*. Bharata has said regarding them,

Tataśca satvakutapairyuktānyanyāni kārayet/
Vighātya vai yavanikāṃ nṛtya-pāṭhya-kṛtāni ca//
Gītānāṃ madrakādīnāṃ yojyamekaṃ tu gītakaṃ/
Vardhamānamathāpīha tāṇḍavaṃ yatra yujyate//
Tascotthāpanaṃ kāryaṃ parivartakameva ca/
Nāndī śuṣkāpakṛṣṭā ca raṅga-dvāraṃ tathaiva ca//
Cārī caiva tataḥ kāryā mahācārī tathaiva ca/
Trikaṃ prarocanā cāpi pūrvaraṅge bhavanti hi//

—*Nāṭyaśāstra*, Vārānasī ed., V. 12-15.

That is, after removing the curtain, some songs of the *mardaka* class was to be sung along with the playing of musical instruments, or one of the *vardhamānaka* class along with the class dance used to be applied. Then should take place one after another, *utthāpana*, *parivartana* (walking round), *nāndī* (benediction), *śuṣkapakṛṣta*, *raṅga-dvāra*, *cārī*, *mahācārī*, etc.

Bharata has further described the order of the characteristics of all the preliminaries, which were known as *pratyāhāra*, etc., as have been said before. From the *śloka* 17 to 30, he has defined all the characteristics of the preliminaries. He has said: "(1) arranging of the musical instruments (*kutapa-vinyāsa*) was called the *pratyāhāra*; (2) the seating of singers was called the *avataraṇa* or coming down; (3) the commencement of vocal exercise for singing (*parigīta*) was called the *ārambha* or beginning; (4) adjusting the musical instruments for playing them in due manner was

called the *āśrāvaṇā*; (5) rehearsing or dividing the different styles (*vṛtti*) of playing musical instruments was called the *vakrapāṇi*; (6) the strings of instruments were adjusted duly during the *parighaṭṭanā*; (7) the *saṁghaṭanā* was meant for rehearsing the use of different hand-poses for indicating the time-beats or *tāla*; (8) the playing together (in harmony with one another) of drums and stringed instruments was called the *mārgāsārita*; (9) the *āsārita* was meant for practising the beat of time-fractions (*kalāpāta*); (10) the application of songs (*gītavidhi*) was for singing the glory of gods; (11) the *utthāpana* was considered by some to be the beginning of the performance; (12) the *parivartana* was so styled because in it, the guardian deities of different worlds were praised by the director, walking all over the stage; (13) the *nāndī* or benediction was so called because it included (as well as invoked) the blessing of gods, Brāhmiṇs and kings; (14) when an *avakṛṣṭa-dhruvā* was composed with meaningless sounds it was called *śuṣkāvakṛṣṭā* and it indicated the verses got the *jarjara*; (15) the *raṅgadvāra* was so called, because from this part commenced the performance which included words and gestures; (16) the *cārī* was so called because it consisted of movements depicting the erotic sentiment and (17) in the *mahācārī*, occurred movements delineating the furious sentiment".[1]

Now, regarding the *kutapa-vinyāsa* or arrangement of the musical instruments in the stage, Bharata has said in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*: "*eteṣāṃ prayogamidānīṃ vyakṣyāmi*/

1 Translations of the *ślokas* have been adopted from the English edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* by Dr. Manomohan Ghosh, Calcutta, 1951) to some extent.

*tatropaviṣṭaḥ prāṅgmukho raṅge kutapa-viniveśaṣaḥ kartavyaḥ / tatra pūrvoktayor-nepathyagṛhadvārayor-madhye kutapa-vinyāsaḥ /, svaraṅgābhimuka-mārdaṅgika-pāṇavika-dārdarikeṣu gāyaka-gāyikā-vaiṁśika-vaiṇika-sahiteṣu āśithilāyata-tantrīvaddhāstaniteṣu ātodyeṣu yathā-grāmarāga-mūrcchanāmārjanānulipteṣu mṛdaṅgeṣu dhārayā * * "* (vide NS. Vārānasī ed., chapt. XXXIII, 206); which means "the *mārdaṅgika* (drummers) facing the east between the two doors of the green room, the *pāṇavika* to his left, the *gāyakas* to the south of the *raṅgapīṭha* facing the north, *gāyikās* to his front on the north facing the south, *vaiṇika* to their left and two *vaṁśikas* to their right". In all the three types of theatre, players of musicial instruments occupy a place in the *raṅgaśīrṣa* between the two doors.

Abhinavagupta has also described the method of arrangement of the orchestra (*kutapa*) in his commentary, *Abhinavabhāratī*, while commenting upon the *śloka*: "*kutapasya tu vinyāsaḥ*," etc. (V. 17). He has said: "*nepathyagṛhadvārayormadhye pūrvābhimukho mārdaṅgikaḥ / tasya pāṇavikau vāmataḥ / raṅgapīṭhasya dakṣṇataḥ uttarābhimukho gāyanaḥ / asyāgre uttarato dakṣiṇābhimukhasthitā gāyikyaḥ / asya vāme vaiṇikaḥ / anyatra vaṁśadvāra* (*dhāra*)*-kāvityevaṃ kutaḥ pāti kuṃ tapatīti śabda-viśeṣa-pālakasya nāṭyabhūmikojjvalatādhāyinaśca vargasya yo vicitro nyāsaḥ sa viprakīrṇānāmevātra ḍhaukanātmā pratyāhāra*".[2]

A female dancer (*nartakī*) was also associated with the arrangement of the orchestra, and she or they used to dance to the cadance of the drums. When Bharata has

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2 These have also been discussed in the Chapter IV.

mentioned about four kinds of orchestra (*kutapa*), he means to say about four kinds of musical instruments like *tata*, *avanaddha*, *ghana* and *śuṣīra* as constituting the orchestra. Śārańgdeva has divided the orchestra into three main heads, according to the merits of the instrumentalists. Siṁhabhupāla has said that the combination of three kinds of *kutapa* formed the cluster or *vṛnda*. The *vṛnda* or *samūha* (combination of the instruments) was again of two kinds, *kutapa* and *kolāhala*. The last one was noisy something and was meant only for some specific function and action of the play. Śārańgdeva has given a detailed description about these orchestras. By the *kolāhala-vṛnda*, he means to say the orchestra, in which a number of musicians and instrumentalists conglomerated and was superior to the *uttama-vṛnda*.

We thus find that the practice of orchestra was prevalent in India even before the Christian era. Co-ordination of different kinds of musical instruments was strictly observed along with the compact body of sounds in ancient India. Even in the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* and the Vedic *Prātiśākhya*, we find references to the *samūha-gīta* and *gana-gīti*, which were no other than the combination or unison of musical sounds or voices, accompanied by different musical instruments like *veeṇā*, *veṇu* and *mṛdańga*. The most ancient musical instruments like *veeṇā*, *veṇu*, and *mṛdańga* used to play an important part in music, dance and drama not only in ancient period, but also in the mediaeval period, and is continuing as such in the modern period, and they are regarded as the forbears of all kinds of musical instruments of India of later date.

The orchestra, as used in ancient times, will be discused in detail in the next chapter.

APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER IV

Now, from the ancient method of tuning or *mārjanā* of the *puṣkaras*, the method of smearing (*pralepana*) of casts (*gāva*) on leathers of both sides of the drums (*puṣkara*, *bhāṇḍavādya* or *pākhawāj*) also evolved. In fact, the method of smearing or *pralepana* (of mud, specially 'black mud' or *śyāmā-mṛttika*, mixed with barley-paste or *yavacūrṇa*), was in practice in ancient time, for ascertaining the just tones or tunes of the *puṣkara*-drums, and Bharata has described this process of smearing or daubing in the *Nātyaśāstra* (vide chapter XXXIII). Bharata has said,

Mṛttikā lepane hyeṣāṃ yathākāryantu mārjanaṃ//
Nadīkūlapradeśasthā śyāmā sā mṛttikā bhavet/
Toyāpasāraṇaślkṣṇā tayā kāryantu mārjanaṃ//

* * * *

Tatra godhūmacūrṇaṃ vā yavacūrṇaṃ ca dāpayed/
Yava-gopucchacūrṇaṃ tu kadācidupabhujyate//
Ekastasya ca doṣaḥ syādekasvarakaro bhaved/
Evaṃ tu mājānayogāt śyamā svarakarī bhavet//

—*Nātyaśāstra* (Vārānaśi ed.) XXXIII. 103-107.

Bharata has said that for the purpose of smearing of the cast on leathers in both sides of the *puṣkara*-drums, the black mud was necessary. The water in the mud used to be given up. Sometimes wheat (*godhūma*) or barley paste (*yavacūrṇa*), or dust, produced by the legs of the cows, were mixed with the black mud, and then it used to be smeared on the leathers for producing the just tones or tunes (sounds) in the *puṣkara*-drums. It seems that from this ancient process of smearing or daubing of the black

mud, mixed with wheat or barley paste was traditionally followed by the drummers, and when the *bāyāṅ* and *tabal* were introduced in immitation of the *puṣkara* or *mṛdaṅga* in the beginning of the Muhammedan period, that ancient process of smearing or daubing of black cast or paste was adopted.[1]

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1 Vide writer's *Bhāratīya Saṅgīter Itihāsa* (or *Saṁgīta O Saṁskriti*), vol. II, pp. 308, 310.

CHAPTER V

ORCHESTRA AND CHORUS IN ANCIENT INDIA

It is generally believed that orchestra as well as chorus are of recent origin, and are introduced in India during the British regime. But this belief seems to be incorrect, as the Sanskrit treatises on drama and music bear eloquent testimony to the fact that *vṛnda-vādya* (or *samaveta-yantra-vādana*) or orchestra and *vṛnda-gāna* (*samaveta-saṁgīta*) or chorus were current in India even before the dawn of the Christian era. We find full description of the Mahāvrata ceremony in the *Śrautasūtras*, where it has been described that the wives of the priests used to sing songs in chorus to obtain offsprings. The *hotṛ* priests used to mount a swing and was swung to and fro in order to bring heavenly feelings, and unmarried girls used to dance around the sacrificial fire with water pitchers, the contents of which they emptied.[1] From this it becomes evident that the wives of the priests and the young unmarried girls used to sing songs in unison, accompanied by dance. Now the songs of the wives of the priests and the maidens in same pitches and tunes might have known as chorus (*samūha-saṁgīta*) in ancient days. Again, we find references in the Vedic literature that lute (*veeṇā*) and drum (*puṣkara*) and other musical instruments used to keep rhythm of dances and songs of the dancers and the singers, and those combined musical

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1 Vide J. Gonda: *Ascetics and Courtesans* (in the 'Brahmavidyā,' the Adyar Bulletin, vol. XXV, pts. 1-4, pp. 78-79. Cf. also Dr. A. B. Keith: *Sāṅkhyāyana Āraṇyaka* (London, 1908), p. VIII.

instruments were known as musical concerts or simple orchestras.

Puṣparṣi, the author of the *Puṣpasūtra* or *Sāma-prāti-śākhya*, has mentioned about *ganagīti*, where he has said: "*anyatara ganagītibhyaḥ pratīstotrīyam* * *", but this reference about the *ganagīti* does not mean the real group-singing or chorus. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa*, we often come across references about the group-singing of the Brāhmiṇs and the wandering minstrels on the occasion of coronation, wedding, funeral ceremony and other sacred sacrificial functions and rites, and they may be regarded as the group-songs or chorous. Though different musical instruments were used in different auspicious occasions and in wars and funeral ceremonies, they cannot be considered as orchestra proper. Yet the practice of orchestra (*samūha-yantra-vādya*) was in vogue before the Christian era, as we find mention of proper forms of different kinds of orchestra in Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, composed in the 2nd century A.D. Though controversy rages round the exact date of compilation of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, yet most of the scholars have given their considerate opinion that it was composed or compiled during the period, mentioned above. Thus, as we find mention of *kutapa* (*vṛnda-vādya*) in the 2nd century A.D., we may take it for granted that it evolved and was in practice before the compilation of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. Bharata, on his part, has also admitted that he compiled his *Nāṭyaśāstra* from the materials of the *Nāṭya-veda*, composed by his predecessor, Brahmā or Brahmā-bharata: "*nāṭyaśāstraṃ pravakṣyāmi brahmaṇā yadudā-hṛtam*" (NS. I. 1), and as such Bharata has termed his *Nāṭyaśāstra* as the *saṁgraha-grantha*, or 'book of compila-

tion'. It is said that Brahmā or Brahmābharata composed the *Nāṭyaveda* out of the materials of the Vedic music, *sāmagāna*, in the beginning of the classical period (600-500 B.C.). Bharata has said,

> Śrūyatāṃ nāṭyavedasya sambhavo brahma-nirmitaṃ//
>
> *   *   *   *
>
> Nāṭyavedaṃ tataścakre caturvedāṅga-sambhabaṃ//
> Jagrāha pāṭhyamṛgvedāt sāmabhyo gītameva ca/
> Yajurvedādabhinayān rasānātharvaṇādapi//
>
> —N. S. I. 7, 16-17

Brahmā composed the fifth Veda ("*tasmāt sṛjāparaṃ vedaṃ pañcamaṃ sarva-varṇikaṃ*"), the *Nāṭyaveda*, collecting materials from the Vedas, Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda, Yajurveda and Atharvaveda. The Ṛgveda supplied the text (*pāṭhya*) of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or *Nāṭyaveda*, the Sāmaveda, the tune or melody, the Yajurveda, the dramatic scheme and science, and the Atharveveda, the aesthetic sentiments and moods for drama, dance and music. It has been said before that Muni Bharata has composed his *Nāṭyaśāstra*, collecting materials as well as laws and principles, as prescribed in Brahmā's *Nāṭyaveda* of the pre-Christian era. Bharata of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* fame has, therefore, mentioned about the *kutapa* or orchestra and the *samūha-saṁgīta* or chorus as well as other ingredients for drama, dance and music in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and from them it becomes evident that though we find frequent references of *kutapa* or orchestra and chorus in different literature, yet they were prevalent in the pre-Christian society, otherwise Bharata would never have written the line: "*nāṭyaśāstraṃ pravakṣyāmi brahmaṇā yadudāhṛtaṃ*" (NS. I. 1).

Now it is found that Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* fame has described about orchestra (*kutapa*) in connection with dramatic performance (*nāṭyābhinaya*). He has also mentioned about group-singing or chorus as well as the grammar and science of drama, dance and music. The sculptures and bas-reliefs of the pre-Christian and early Christian eras supply palpable evidences of group-recital of musical instruments (*vṛnda-vādana*) and group-singing or chorus (*vṛnda-gāna*), as prescribed in ancient India. In the Sitābeṅgā Cave in the Madhya-pradeśa (2nd century A.D.), a dramatic stage has been excavated, in front of which there exist a music hall and a seat for the players of musical instruments, which go to prove that simple type of *vṛnda-vādya* or orchestra was in practice in the dramatic performances during the early Christian era. In one of the Ajantā Caves (2nd-7th century A.D,), a dramatic stage and a stage-room stand depicted. In front of the stage, some dancing girls (*naṭīs*) have been painted in dancing posture, along with an orchestra to keep rhythms of their dance as in actuality. That simple orchestra was composed mainly of flutes and drums. On the bas-reliefs of the railings of the Bārhut Stūpa (2nd century B.C.) is to be found a band of players of musical instruments as if engaged in keeping rhythms of dance. Usually the orchestra or musical concert consisted of some harp-shaped lutes (*veeṇās*), drums (*puṣkaras*) and cymbals. In the paintings of the Bāgh Cave (4th-6th century A.D.), we also come across scenes of group-dances and concerts in the Caves (Nos. 4 and 5), consisting of drums, flutes, cymbals and music-sticks, accompanying the dances of fair maidens. Again in the temple of Kapileśvara (6th-7th century A.D.) at Bhubaneśvara, we fiind a grill, containing engraved

standing figures of *naṭas* and *naṭīs*. In the middle, there are figures of three *naṭas* and four *naṭīs*. Among them three *naṭas* are dancing in different gestures and postures, and of the four *naṭīs*, one is singing and the other is playing a harp-like lute (*veeṇā*), while the rest are dancing in unison with the concert. A similar scene is also found engraved in the Parameśvara temple (6th-7th century A. D.) at the same place, wherein one of the *naṭīs* is dancing in a sitting posture, the second one is beating a *damaru*-like drum with her right-hand, the third one is blowing a pipe, while the fourth one is playing on a cymbal as if to keep time in the concert. In different inscriptions, specially of the Magadhian and Maurya-Scythian periods, we find references of group-dance, group-singing, concert and orchestra.

Now, the question arises whether the scenes of the *vṛnda-vādya* and the *vṛnda-gāna* (orchestra and chorus), as engraved in different railings and Caves of the Buddhist Stūpas and Hindu temples are to be termed as orchestra and chorus proper. It is a moot point. But it should be remembered in this connection that definite forms of concert and orchestra (*kutapa* or *vṛnda-vādya*) had already taken shape in the pre-Christian era, and Bharata has described them in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The music experts and scholars have made a distinction between a 'concert' and an 'orchestra'. A concert, they say, is a combination of voices or sounds, or it can be said to be a musical entertainment, whereas an orchestra is a body of instrumental performers or a combination of different classes of musical instruments. In fact, a concert is a musical entertainment of concerted pieces, symphonies, etc., sometimes interpersed with songs, performed by an orchestra of many musical instruments.

The term orchestra has been derived from the Greek term *orcheomai* meaning, 'dance.' In ancient Greek theatres, it stood for the space, allotted to the chorus of the dancers. In modern theatres, the part of the building assigned to the instrumentalists; and in the modern concert-rooms, the place occupied by the instrumental and vocal performers. The word 'orchestra' was also used to denote the musicians collectively with the instrumentalists.

Now, what do we mean an orchestra? Orchestra, says Waldo Selden Pratt, is the "general name for an ensemble of instruments and players of several different kinds under the direction of a single leader or conductor. It is distinguished from the *chamber-ensemble* by the variety of its constituents and by the fact that in some parts more than a single player is usually included. Its ideal is to serve as a complex, but unified instrument, like an organ, though composed of many living performers, each of whom is normally an expert soloist on his own instrument. In its highest development it is, therefore, the most elaborate vehicle for instrumental exposition and impression".[1]

He has further said that an orchestra as a definite artistic agency "called into existence by the rise of the opera in the early 17th century. But the experiments throughout that century (as by Monteverdi, Costi, Lully, Legrenzi and A. Scarlatti) were extremely varied in the range and balance of the instruments employed. * * Even in the early 18th century, there was a tendency to use the wood-wind (flutes, oboes and bassoons) as the nucleus or as (as in the case of Bach) to exploit various instruments in

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1 Vide W. S. Pratt: *The New Encyclopaedia of Music and Musicians* (London, 1924), p. 101.

solo-effects rather than to seek contrasts and gradations of massed tone. It remained for the Mannheim group (about 1750) to fix upon the violin-quartet as the true centre for the whole and to perceive the ideal co-ordination with this of the wood- and brass-groups. * * Hence came the orchestral symphonies of the Viennese or classical school, which were as novel in instrumental conception as they were in structural detail. The further advances in magnitude and refinement of colour-effects waited for the early and middle 19th century, when Berlioz and Wagner set up standards that have not been greatly exceeded since. * *

"Prior to 1750, orchestral music, outside of accompaniments, consisted chiefly of overtures, and various forms of concerto, the former magnifying the contrast of successive movements and the latter the contrast between solo and tutti. With J. S. Bach set in the first currents that led with Hayden, Mozart and Beethoven to the rapid evolution of the symphony as the orchestral sonata. About 1800 the concert-overture began to detach itself from the overture proper. About 1850 appeared both Liszt's movement in favour of the symphonic poem and Wagner's prodigious transformation of the orchestral side of the opera, while one composer after another added to the growing appreciation of the orchestra as the special medium for effects and constructions dominated by light, colour and warmth. Like every other instrument of major importance, the orchestra has called into being either new forms appropriate to its own genius or tended to remodel existing forms to match its transcendent capacity for expression".[1]

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1 Ibid., pp. 101-102. Cf. also Prof. P.A. Scholes: *The Mirror of Music* (1844-1924), vol. 1, (Oxford University Press), Chapter X, pp. 373-410.

Regarding orchestra and orchestration of the ancient Greeks and the Western nations, Prof. Percy A. Scholes is of opinion that "the idea of combining instruments is probably as old as instruments themselves, but the principles of what may be called systematic combination (and the art of orchestration is just that) were very slowly realized". So the development of the principles approximately spread over four dates *viz* 1600, 1700, 1800 and 1900. These dates were known as (1) the Montevedri period, (2) the Bach period, (3) the period of emergence of the modern orchestra, and (4) orchestration at the beginning of the 20th century. The Monteverdi period is known as the period of the early operas. In the second period, i.e. in 1700 A.D., some instruments were improved and some effective combinations were worked out with a growing tendency to standardize the central string section exactly as we have it today. In the third period, i.e. in 1800 A.D., a change of conception came into being. The keyboard instruments were outmoded, and the string ones were accepted as the invariable basis. In the fourth period, i.e. in 1900 A.D., the orchestra became more improved.

"Between the Hyden-Mozart period and the Struss period", says Prof. Scholes, "have come the work of the later Beethoven and of Wagner, and this great expansion of orchestral media, with its consequent enhanced variety, increased dynamic power, and greater aptitude for dramatic characterization, represents the influence of the Romantic movement plus that of the efforts of instrument makers during the greatest age of invention the world has yet seen".[1]

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1 Vide Prof. Scoles: *The Oxford Companion to Music* (9th edition, 1955), p. 733.

Thus we see that in the ancient Greek theatre-stages, there were orchestras, but they were only the semi-circular or square spaces in the front of the stages, where chorus danced and sang, and they were not meant for group playing of the musical instruments proper. Similarly in Hellenistic theatre-stages, in Graeco-Roman theatres, in Roman theatres, in Elizabethan theatres, in Italian Renaissance theatres, such semi-circular, diagonal or square orchestras were in existence for songs and dances, and not for players of the musical instruments. This is also true of the theatres of modern France and Germany.

Prof. Allardyce Nicoll also informs us that main features of the ancient Athenian theatre in the 6th-5th century A.D. was the religious plots of the dramatic plays, accompanied by chorus of lyric chants and orchestras, allotted front-spaces for dance and song. Consequently the theatres, says Prof. Nicoll, "when they are created, the chorus could make those elaborate terpsichorean movements which always were associated with the verses of the lyric chants. * * The bare hillside, then, when the round orchestra and the altar was the first theatre known to the Greeks......The excavations undertaken at Athens by Professor Dorpfeld have shown that in the original Dionysian theatre, the orchestra stood 50 feet to the south of the present orchestra and had a diameter of 78 feet".[1]

In connection with Hellenistic theatre, Prof. Nicoll has further said that the "simple arrangement described

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1 Cf. Prof. Nicoll: *The Development of the Theatre* (1961). p. 20.

above, consisting of round orchestras, *parodoi*, rectangular *skene* with projecting *paraskenia* and low platform or stage, is all we can confidently assert for the earliest Athenian playhouse".[1] In the Graeco-Roman theatres, the orchestra, which had been completely circular in purely Greek style, was encroached on by the scene-buildings, but always remained more than a semi-circle. In the Roman theatre, orchestra was cut sharply in half, also exhibiting semi-circle, bounded on the diameter by the front of the stage itself, generally styled the hyposcenium (or under-stage).

Thus we find that practice of proper orchestra or group-playing of different musical instruments evolved in later period, in the 16th century A.D., or a little before that, in Greece, Rome, Italy, France, Germany and other ancient countries. There were music-rooms, the halls or seats for the musicians and players of musical instruments, and probably from those music-rooms evolved the orchestra in the 16th century, as a part and parcel of the theatres and dramatic plays.

Though it is a fact that theatre or stage and drama (play or *abhinaya*) are by no means one and the same thing, and though they stand in close relationship to each other, yet they each has its own boundary. "The theatre," says Prof. Nicoll, "extends considerably beyond the frontiers of the drama, while the drama similarly extends far on the other side beyond the frontiers of the theatre".[2] Again it should be remembered in this connection that chorus or group-songs, dance and music were connected all with

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1 Ibid., p. 23.

2 Cf. Prof. Nicoll: *The Theatre and Dramatic Theory* (London, 1962), p. 11.



The dancing party and Orchestra in the Bagh paintings,
Caves No. 4 and 5





1. The main dancer and the orchestra in the Bagh paintings
2. The dancers and the orchestra, Barhut



The dancing girl and orchestra, Pawava, Gawalior

MUSICIANS
AJANTA
CAVE 17

The dancing girl, accompanied by a small orchestra, Ajanta

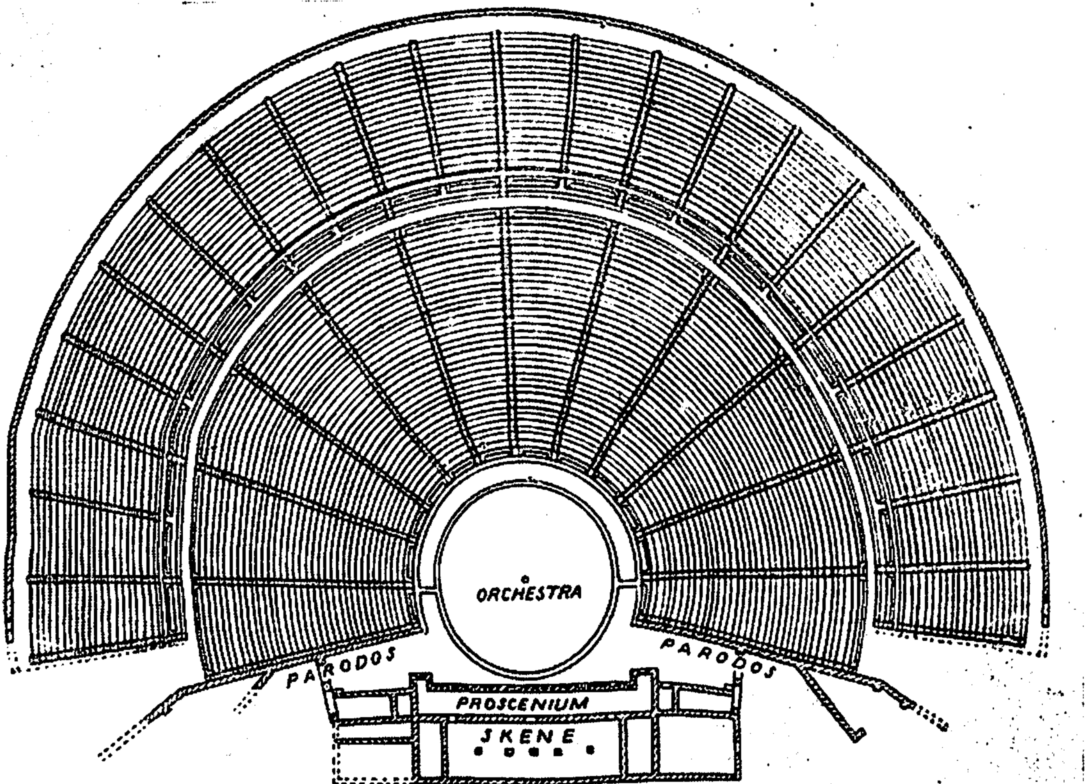


Fig. 4. Plan of the Theatre at Epidauros
After Dörpfeld-Reisch.

No. I. Plan of the Theatre at Epidauros
After Dorpfeld-Reisch.
From the Development of the Theatre



No. 2. The Main Site of the Theatre at Epidauros

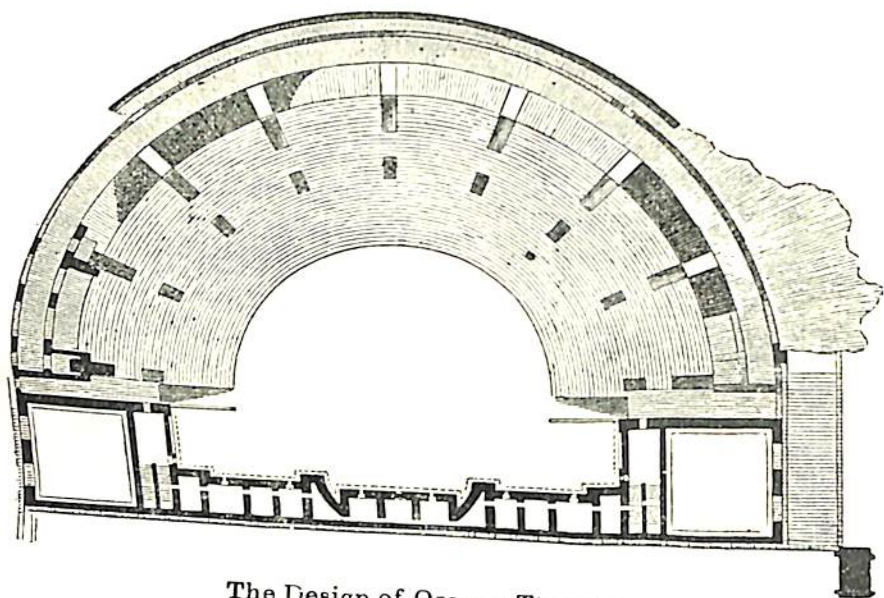


No. 1. The Main Site of the Odeon Theatre (Media Cavea)
—Picture from the Pompii.



The Odeon or Little Theatre :
Orchestra-side Entrance and Steps for the 'Media Cavea'.
built by M. Porcious and C. Quinctius Valgus in 80 B.C.

—*Pompeii, p. 40*



The Design of Orange Theatre.

mentions of assemblage of different musical instruments are to be found in different religious, royal and domestic functions, but they were not the orchestras or concerts proper. As for example, in the second chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Vārānasī edition), Bharata has mentioned about different wind and percussion instruments on the occasion of laying of the foundation-stone of the theatre-stage. Bharata has said,

Pṛsṭhato yo bhavedbhāgo dvidhābhūto bhavecca saḥ/
Tasyārdhena vibhāgena raṅga-śīrṣaṃ prayojayet//

* * * *

Śaṅkha-dundubhi-nirghoṣair-mṛdaṅga-paṇavādibhiḥ//
Sarva-tūrya-ninādaiśca sthāpanaṃ kāryameva ca/
—*Nāṭyaśāstra*. II. 35-37.

That is, "these halves (behind him) should be again divided equally into two parts, one of which will be made the stage (*raṅgaśīrṣa*) and the part at back the retiring room (*nepathya*). And during the ceremony (of laying of the foundation) all the musical instruments such as, conchshell, *dundubhi* (drum), *mṛdaṅga* (earthen drum), *paṇava* (small drum or tabor) should be sounded". Then Bharata has mentioned about Indian orchestra or *kutapa* in the second chapter:

Tasmānnivātaḥ kartabyaḥ kartṛbhir-nāṭyamaṇḍapaḥ//
Gāmbhīryaṃ susvaratvaṃ ca kutapasya bhavediti/
—*Nāṭyaśāstra*, II. 82-83.

"For (in such a playhouse) made free from the interference of wind, voice of actors and singers as well as the sound of musical instruments will be distinctly heard".

Now, it was customary to represent the *kutapa* or *vṛnda-vādya* after the ceremony of laying of the foundation-stone of the stage and in the beginning of the worship of the presiding deities: "*sampūjya devatāḥ sarvāḥ kutapaṃ*

samprayujya ca" (NS. III. 11). Now, it should be mentioned that Bharata has used the word '*kutapa*' in different senses. As for example, he has mentioned *kutapa* sometimes as different musical instruments ("*tataśca sarva-kutapair-yuktānyanyāni kārayet*"—V. 12), and sometimes as orchestra or *vṛnda-vādya*. Similarly the commentator Abhinabagupta has used the word *kutapa* in three different ways: (1) "*kutapamiti caturvidhamātodya-bhāṇḍāni*"; (2) *caturvidhamātodyaṃ kutapaṃ*"; (3) "*kutapaḥ saṁpheta-gāyana vādakasamūhaḥ*". It should be remembered that all these interpretations are correct, as the word *kutapa* sometimes denotes four kinds of musical instruments like *taṭa*, *vitaṭa*, *ghana* and *suṣira*; sometimes orchestra and also sometimes musicians and players of different musical instruments.

Then Bharata goes on to describe the arrangement of the musical instruments (*kutapa-vinyāsa*), which was known as *pratyāhāra*. Besides, he has described about *avataraṇa*, *āśrāvaṇā*, *vakrapāṇi*, *parighaṭṭanā*, *saṁghaṭanā*, *mārgotsārita* or *mārgāsārita*, *gītavidhi*, *parivartana*, *nāndī*, etc. Regarding the detailed arrangement of the musical instruments (*kutapa-vinyāsa*) and their names, Bharata has said,

Kutapasya tu vinyāsaḥ pratyāhāra iti smṛtaḥ/
Tathāvataraṇaṃ proktaṃ gāyakānāṃ niveśaṇaṃ//
Parigītakṛyārambha ārambha iti kīrtitaḥ/
Ātodya-rañjanānarthaṃ tu bhavedāśrāvanāvidhiḥ//
Vādyavṛtti-vibhāgārthaṃ vakrapāṇi-vidhīyate/
Tantrejastaraṇārthaṃ tu bhavecca parighaṭṭanā//
Tathā pāṇi-vibhāgārthaṃ bhavet saṁghaṭanāvidhiḥ/
Tantrī-bhāṇḍa-samāyogān mārgāsaritamiṣyate//
Kālapāta-vibhāgārthaṃ bhavedāsārita-kṛyā/
Kīrtanāddevatānāṃ ca jñeyo gītavidhisthā//

NŚ. V. 17-21.

"The arrangement of the musical instruments (*kutapa*) is called the *pratyāhāra*. The appearance of singers is called the *avataraṇā*. The commencement of vocal exercise for singing (*parigīta*) called the *ārambha* or beginning. Adopting the musical instruments for playing them in due manner is called the *āśrāvanā*. Rehearsing (lit. dividing) the different styles (*vṛttis*) of playing musical instruments is called the *vakrapāṇi*. The strings of instruments are adjusted duly during the *parighaṭṭanā*. The *saṁghaṭanā* is meant for rehearsing the use of different hand-poses (for indicating the time-beat). The playing together (in harmony with one another) of drums and stringed instruments is called the *mārgāsārita*. The *āsārita* is meant for practising the beat of time-fractions (*kālapāta*). And the application of songs (*gītavidhi*) is for singing the glory of gods".[1]

Regarding the arrangment of different musical instruments in orchestra (*kutapa-vinyāsa*), Abhinavagupta has said in the *Abhinavabhāratī*: "*nepathyagṛhadvārayormadhye pūrvābhimukho mārdaṅgikaḥ/ tasya pāṇavikau vāmataḥ/ raṅgapīṭhasya dakṣiṇataḥ uttarābhimukho gāyanaḥ/ asyāgre uttarato dakṣiṇābhimukasthitā gāyikyaḥ/ asya vāme vaiṇikaḥ/ anyatra vaṁśadvāra-(dhāra)-kāvityevaṃ kutaṃ pāti kuṃ tapatīti śabda-viśeṣapālakasya nāṭyabhūmikojjvalatādhāyinaśca vargasya yo vicitro nyāsaḥ sa viprakīrṇānāmevātra ḍhaukanātmā pratyāhāraḥ*" (V. 17). The meaning of the lines is this that the *mārdaṅgika* to sit facing east between the two doors of the green-room, the *pāṇavika* to sit to his left, *gāyaka* to sit to the south of the *raṅgapīṭha*, facing

1 These have already been described in the previous chapter (chapt. IV). It is to note further that the English translations of the *ślokas* have been adopted from Dr. M. Ghose's *Nātyaśāstra* to some extent.

south, the *gāyika* to sit at his front on the north facing south, *vaiṇika* to their left and two *vaṁśikas* to their right. In all three types of players of musical instruments occupy a place in the *raṅgaśīrṣa* between the two doors. The female musicians also used to be allowed to take part in the Indian orchestra. Regarding it, Abhinavagupta has said: "*yadyapi kutapasya vinyāsa madhya eva ca gāyakasyābhimukho raṅgapīṭhasyottarato gāyinya iti gāya-(yi)-kānāṃ vinyāsaḥ, tathāpi tvavataraṇaṃ nāma pṛthaguktamaṅgānāṃ . gīta-(maṅganāgīta)-syāvaśyaṁbhāvitvaṃ rañjakavarge khyāpayituṃ/ yadvakṣyate—*

"*Yadyapi puruṣo gāyati gītavidhānaṃ tu lakṣaṇopetaṃ/*
Strīvirohitaḥ prayogastathāpi na sukhāvaho bhavati//"

—*Nāṭyaśāstra*, XXXIII. 5-7.

That is, though in ancient Indian orchestra, male players of musical instruments were mentioned, yet for pleasing combination, it was the practice to engage female players also. Elsewhere Abhinavagupta has given the definition of *kutapa* in this manner: "*kutaṃ śabdaṃ pātīti caturvidhamātodyaṃ kutapaṃ/ tat-prayoktṛjātañca tasya viśeṣeṇāvyavasthāpakānāṃ tatra viśeṣeṇa nyāso yathāyogaṃ svara-tāla-laya-kalādi-niveśaṇaṃ/ sa eva pratyāhārādirāsārita-kṛyāntaḥ paripūrṇo vinyāsaḥ/*"

Bharata has said that the arrangement of musical instruments (*kutapa*) used to be made exclusively in connection with the presentation of dramas. And for this reason he has said elsewhare:

Vādyeṣu yatnaḥ prathamaṃ tu kāryaḥ
sayyā hi nāṭyasya vadanti vādyaṃ/
Vādye'pi gīte'pi ca samprayukte
nāṭyasya yogo na vināśameti//

—*Nāṭyaśāstra*, XXXIII. 270.

The *kutapa* consisted of four kinds of musical instruments, and Bharata has elaborately dealt with them in the *ātodyavidhi* in the 28th chapter (Vārānasī edition) thus;

Tatam caivāvanaddhaṃ ca ghanaṃ suṣirameva ca/
Caturvidhaṃ tu vijñeyamātodyaṃ lakṣaṇānvitaṃ//
Tataṃ tantrīgataṃ jñeyamavanaddhaṃ tu pauṣkaraṃ/
Ghanaṃ tālastu vijñeyaḥ suṣiro vaṁśa ucyate//
Prayogastrividho hyeṣāṃ vijñeyo nāṭakāśrayaḥ/
Tataṃ caivāvanaddhaṃ ca tathā nāṭyakṛtañca yaḥ//
Tataṃ kutapa-vinyāso gāyanaḥ saparigrahaḥ/
Vaipañciko vaiṇikaśca vaṁśavādaka eva ca//
Mārdaṅgikaḥ pāṇavikastathā dārduriko[1] vudhaḥ/
Anāviddhavidhāveṣa kutapaḥ samudāhṛtaḥ//
Uttamādhamamadhyābhistathā prakṛtibhiryutaḥ/
Kutapo nāṭyayoge'tra nānādeśa-samāśrayaḥ//
Evaṃ gānaṃ ca nāṭyaṃ ca vādyaṃ ca vividhāśrayaṃ/
Alātacakra-pratimaṃ kartavyaṃ nāṭyayoktṛbhiḥ//
Yattu tantrīgataṃ proktaṃ nānātodya-samāśrayaṃ/
Gāndharvamiti vijñeyaṃ svara-tāla-padāśrayaṃ//
—*Nāṭyaśāstra*, XXVIII. 1-8.

From this we come to know that ancient Indian orchestra consisted of *vaipañcika* or *vaiṇika*, *vaṁśa-vādaka*, *mārdalika* or *pāṇavika* or *dārdurika*. It can be divided into four main classes, players of lute or *veeṇā*, flutists, drummers and players of cymbal. The players were of three classes, *uttama* (best), *madhyama* (medium) and *adhama* (trite). The orchestra (*kutapa*) was arranged like *alātacakra* i. e. in a circle. These have been fully dealt with by Śāraṅgdeva in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (vide III, *prakīrṇa* chapter).

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1 Different reading—dārbhariko.

Śāraṅgdeva has said like Bharata that drum, *puṣkara* was the principal musical instrument in the orchestra: "*kutape tvavanaddhasya mukhyo mārdaṅgikastataḥ*". Siṁhabhupāla has also said: "*avanaddhasya kutapa eko mukhyo mārdaṅgikaḥ*". Śāraṅgdeva has mentioned the names of the drums, which were used in the *kutapa* or ancient Indian orchestra, and they were *paṇava*, *dardura*, *dhakkā*, *maṇḍi-dhakkā*, *dakkuli*, *pataha*, *karatā*, etc. Besides them, he has mentioned the names of other musical instruments, which were included in the *kutapa*.

Śāraṅgdeva has described about the *nāṭya-kutapa* i. e. combination of musical instruments, meant for drama. The *nāṭya-kutapa* was divided into three classes according to their merits, and they were *uttama* (best), *madhyama* (medium) and *adhama* (trite). Siṁhabhupāla has said: "*eteṣāṃ ca pātrānāṃ uttama-madhyamādhamatvena kutapasyāpi traividhyaṃ*". When these three types of *kutapa* were used to be combined, they came to be known as *vṛnda* or combination (or cluster). The combined musical instruments or instrumentalists (*vṛnda*) were in their turn divided into best, medium and trite. (1) The best type of *vṛnda* consisted of four main singers, twelve accompanying singers, four flutists and four drummers; (2) the medium type of *vṛnda* consisted of two main singers, four accompanying singers, two flutists and two drummers; (3) the lowest (*kaniṣṭha* or *adhama*) type of *vṛnda* consisted of one main singer, three accompanying singers, two flutists and two drummers. Regarding them, Śāraṅgdeva has said in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*:

Gātṛ-vādaka-saṁghāto vṛndamityabhidhīyate/
Uttamaṃ madhyamamatho kaniṣṭhamiti tat tridhā//

Cattāro mukhyogātāro dviguṇāḥ samagāyanāḥ/
Gāyanyo dvādaśa proktā vāṁśikānāṃ catuṣṭayaṃ//
Mārdaṅgikāsu catvāro yatra tad-vṛndamuttamaṃ/
Madhyamaṃ syāttadardhena kaniṣṭhe mukhyagāyanaḥ//
Ekaḥ syāt samagātāsastrayo gāyanikāḥ punaḥ/
Catasro vāṁsikaṃ dvandvaṃ tathā mārdalikadvayaṃ//
—S. R., III. 203-206.

According to Bharata, these *vṛndas* or combined musical instrument-players and musicians were called the *kutapa* or orchestra: "*āha vṛnda-viśeṣam tu kutapaṃ bharato muniḥ*" (SR. III. 211), though Śāraṅgdeva holds a different view to some extent. Saraṅgdeva has said: "*anyadapi vṛndaṃ kutapākhyaṃ matāntarena*" (cf. commentary of Siṁhabhupāla). According to him, *vṛnda*, known as *kutapa*, was really the *nāṭya-kutapa* (orchestra proper) and was exclusively meant for use in dramatic performances. Śāraṅgdeva has further said that the *nāṭya-kutapa* used to be formed out of different persons, expert in the arts of *abhinaya*, *aṅgahāra*, *maṇḍala* as well as in the arts of dances like *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya*, which were also current in the countries like Varāṭa, Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Mālava, Gauḍa, Gurjara, Mahārāṣṭra, Andhra, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, etc.:

Varāta-lāṭa-karṇāṭa-gauḍa-gurjara-koṅgkanaiḥ/
Mahārāṣṭrāndhra-hammīra-caulair-malaya-mālavaiḥ//
Aṅga-vaṅga-kaliṅgādyair-nānābhinayakovidaiḥ/
Aṅgahāra-payogajñair-lāsya-tāṇḍava-kovidaiḥ//
Vicitra-sthānaka-prauḍhair-viṣameṣu suśikṣitaiḥ/
Nāṭyasya kutapaḥ pātrai-ruttamādhamamadhyamaiḥ//
—*Ratnākara*, III. 221-223.

It has already been said that the *nāṭya-kutapa* was also divided into three classes, best, medium and common-

place: "*eteṣāṃ ca pātrānāmuttama-madhyamādhamatvena kutapasyāpi traividhyaṃ*".

Siṁhabhupāla has used the terms *vṛnda* and *samūha* or *saṁghāta* to mean 'collection': "*saṁghātaḥ samūho vṛndamucyate*". The *vṛnda* or *samūha-vādya* was also of different classes, such as, *kutapa-vṛnda* i.e. collection of different musical instruments, *vāṁśika-vṛnda* i.e. collection of flutes only, *gāyanī-vṛnda* i.e. collection of singers, *kolā-halākhya-vṛnda* i.e. collection of various musical instruments which generally used to create disturbance.

It has been said before that besides orchestra (*kutapa*), chorus (*vṛnda-gāna*) was in practice in ancient India, in connection with the dramatic performances. The chorus used to be produced by different musicians, both male and female, and was known as '*gāyanī-vṛnda*'. These musicians remained always attached to the dramatic plays or *abhinaya*. The expert musicians used to produce songs in unison, and they were accompanied by different musical instruments. The *gāyanī-vṛnda* and the *kutapa-vṛnda* were in touch with each other all the time. The *gāyanī-vṛnda* was also divided into three classes, best, medium and common-place. The best type of *gāyanī-vṛnda* consisted of two main singers, ten accompanying singers, assisted by two flutists and two drummers. The medium one consisted of one main singer, and four accompanying singers, assisted by one flutist and one drummer. The common-place one consisted of half of the number of the medium one. Some are of opinion that according to Bharata, the *gāyanī-vṛnda*, *vāṁśika-vṛnda* and such other *vṛndas* were also known as *kutapa*: "*āha vṛnda-viśeṣaṃ tu kutapaṃ bharato muniḥ*". But it is a fact that though the musicians in the *gāyanīvṛnda*

were accompanied by different musical instruments and connected with the dramatic plays, yet they used to sing songs for drama in unison, which was nothing but chorus (*samūha-saṅgīta* or *vṛnda-gāna*). Like *kutapa* or orchestra, the musicians used to create the ethos in dramatic plays. The *vāṁśika-vṛnda* was composed only of flutes, and consisted of one main flutist and four subsidiary ones,

Eka syādvāṁśiko mukhyaścatvāro'syānuyāyinaḥ/
Vāṁśikānāmiti prāyastajjñair-vṛnda nigadyate//
—*Ratnākara*, VI. 667.

As has been said before that opera (*geya-nāṭya* or *gīti-nāṭya*) evolved in India in the early 12th century A.D., i.e. even before the time of Śāraṅgdeva, who appeared in early 13th century A.D., and the palpable evidence in its support is the *aṣṭapadī* or *gītagovinda-prabandha-gāna* of Thākur Jaideva of Kenduvilva, in West Bengal. All over the world well-trained orchestras provide the musical accompaniments in opera plays. In opera, dance is only incidental, and the dramatic action and conversation (*abhinaya*) take prominent role. In South India, different operas (*geya-nāṭakas*) were written by great composers in different times. The *charitrams*, written in songs and verses, were produced as opera. The *charitrams* were known as the *geya-charitrams*. Well has it been said by Prof. Sāmbomoorthy: "A well-trained orchestra is absolutely necessary to provide the music accompaniment in operas. * * In a properly balanced orchestra, constituted with attention to tone-colour effects, it is possible to achieve brilliant results".[1] It is thus

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1 Cf. Prof. Sāmbomoorthy: *History of Indian Music* (1963).

found that an orchestra is necessary for an opera or *geya-nāṭya*.

Prof. Sāmbomoorthy has further said: "*Kutapa* is the term for orchestra in ancient Indian music. There are references to *tata-kutapas* or stringed bands and *avanaddha-kutapa* or bands of drums. The *kutapas* provided musical accompaniment to the dramas in ancient times. In late times, the term *saṅgīta-melaṃ* came to be used to denote orchestras, playing classical music. The orchestras, designated to play folk music, were called by such names as *naiyandī-melaṃ*, *urumī-melaṃ*, etc."[1]

It has already been said that genuine evidences regarding the existence of orchestra and chorus, accompanying dance and drama, are found from the sculptures and bas-reliefs of different Buddhist Stūpas, railings and gates, monasteries and Hindu temples of ancient India. Evidences are also discernible (1) in the paintings of the Ajantā Caves, in one of which is depicted a theatre-stage and green-room with a dancing girl, dancing with her attendants, and female musicians are keeping rhythm of the dance; (2) the theatre-stage and green-room hewn out of rock at the Sitābeṅgā-Cave, in front of which is the figure of a female dancer dancing, and a drummer and a flutist keeping the rhythm of the dance; (3) representations of dancing figures on the Bhārut-railings; (4) the *vṛnda-vādya* and dancing figures as well as the figure of a dancer and female players of musical instruments at the Bāgh Cave paintings are worth-mentioning. The orchestra-

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1 Ibid., pp. 86-87.

party and the dance-motive of a dancing girl (*naṭī*), as depicted in the Pāwayā at Gwālior of the 4th century A.D., is also very significant in this context. The orchestra, as depicted here, consists of a *sarode* like *veeṇā*, one harp-type of *veeṇā*, flutes, drums and cymbals. From all these it is evident that a simple form of orchestra was in practice in ancient India even before the dawn of the Christian era, though modern type of orchestra evolved in India in the beginning of the British Rule, as it has been fashioned after the design of the orchestration process of the West. But that does not mean that there was no orchestra in India before the British Rule. India had orchestra and chorus of her own, and that orchestra consisted of purely Indian musical instruments, based on melody and melodic elaboration.

APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER V.

Regarding *vṛnda* and *kutapa*:

(a) शार्ङ्गदेवः—

गातृवादकसंखातो वृन्दमित्यभिधीयते ।
उत्तमं मध्यममथो कनिष्ठमिति तत् त्रिधा ॥
चत्वारो मुख्यगातारो द्विगुणाः समगायनाः ।
गायन्यो द्वादश प्रोक्तो वांशिकानां चतुष्टयम् ॥
मार्दङ्गिकास्तु चत्वारो यत्र तद्वृन्दमुत्तमम् ।
मध्यमं स्यात्तदर्धेन कनिष्ठे मुख्यगायनः ॥
एकः स्यात्समगातारस्त्रयो गायनिकाः पुनः ।
चतस्रो वांशिकद्वन्द्वं तथा मार्दलिकद्वयम् ॥
उत्तमे गायनीवृन्दे मुख्यगायनिकाद्वयम् ।
दश स्युः समगायन्यो वांशिकद्वितयं तथा ॥

भवेन्मार्दलिकद्वन्द्वं मध्यमे मुख्यगायनी ।
एका स्यात्समगायन्यश्चतस्रो वांशिकास्तथा ॥
इतो न्यूनं तु हीनं स्याद् यथेष्टमथवा भवेत् ।
उत्तमाभ्यधिकं वृन्दं कोलाहलमितीरितम् ॥
मुख्यानुवृत्तिर्मिलनंताललीनानुवर्तनम् ।
मिथस्त्रुटितनिर्वाहस्त्रिस्थानव्याप्ति शक्तिता ॥
शब्दसादृश्यमित्येते प्रोक्ता वृन्दस्य षड् गुणाः ।
आह वृन्दविशेषं तु कुतपं भरतो मुनिः ॥
ततस्य चावनद्धस्य नाट्यस्येति त्रिधा च सः ।
ततस्य कुतपो ज्ञेयो गायनः सपरिग्रहः ॥
वीणा घोषवती चित्रा विपञ्ची परिवादिनी ।
वल्लकी कुब्जिका ज्येष्ठा नकुलोष्ठी च किन्नरी ।
जया कूर्मी पिनाकी च पौणो रावणहस्तकः ॥
सारङ्ग्यालापिनीत्यादेस्तयवाद्यस्य वादकाः ।
वांशिकाः पाविकाः पावाः काहलाः शङ्खवादकाः ॥
मुहरीश्रृङ्गवाद्याद्यास्तथा तालस्वरा वराः ।
कुतपे त्ववनद्धस्य मुख्यो मार्दङ्गिकस्ततः ॥
पणवो दर्दुरो चक्का मण्डिडक्का च डक्कुली ।
पटहः करटा ढक्का ढवसो घडसस्तथा ॥
हुडुक्का डमरु रुञ्जा कुडुक्का कुडुवा तथा ।
निःसाणस्त्रिवली भेरी तुम्बकी कोम्बडी तथा ॥
पट्टवाद्यं पटः कम्रा झल्लरीभाणसेल्लुकाः ।
जयघण्टा कांस्यतालो घण्टा च किरिकिट्टकम् ॥
वाद्यानामेवमादीनां पृथग्वादकसञ्चयः ।
वराटलाटकर्णाटगौडगुर्जरकोङ्कणैः ॥

महाराष्ट्रान्धहम्मीरचौलैर्मत्रयमालवैः ।
अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गाद्यैर्नानाभिनयकोविदैः ॥
अङ्गहारप्रयोगज्ञैर्लास्यताण्डवकोविदैः ।
विचित्रस्थानकप्रौढैर्विषमेषु सुशिखितैः ॥
नाटकस्य कुतपः पात्रैरुत्तमाधममध्यमैः ।
कुतपानाममीषां तु समूहो वृन्दमुच्यते ॥

—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ३।२०३-२२३

(b) सिंहभूपालः—

वृन्दं लक्षयति—गातृवादकेति। गातारो गायनाः; गायन्यश्च; वादका वांशिकादयः; तेषां संख्या-विशेषेण कवलितः संघातः समूहो वृन्दमित्युच्यते। तत् त्रिविधम्; उत्तमं मध्यमं कनिष्ठं चेति। * * * अन्यदपि वृन्दं कुतपाख्यं मतान्तरेण लक्षयति—आहेति। तत् कुतपवृन्दं त्रिधा; ततसम्बन्धि; अवनद्धसम्बन्धि; नाट्यसम्बन्धि चेति। तत्र ततसम्बन्धि कुतपं लक्षयति—ततस्येति। ततसम्बन्धिनि कुतपे गायकस्यायं परिग्रहो ज्ञातव्यः। कोऽसौ परिग्रह इत्यत आह—वीणेति। घोषवती-चित्रादीनां वीणानां वाद्याध्याये वक्ष्यमानलक्षणानां वादका गायकस्य परिग्रहः। अन्यमपि परिग्रहं कथयति—वांशिका इति। वांशिका वंशवादकाः; * * तत्र वादकाः पावीवादकाः; * *। नाट्यकुतपं लक्षयति—वराटेति। वराटलाट-कर्णाटदेशोऽपन्नैरनेकाभिनयकोविदैर्विवक्षमाणाङ्गहारप्रयोगकुशलेषु विचित्रेषु स्थानकेष्वालीढादिषु नृत्ताध्याये वक्ष्यमाणेषु विषमेषु मण्डलादिषु सुनिश्चितै-र्निश्चयवद्भिः पुरुषैर्युक्तो नाट्यकुतप इत्युच्यते। * * त्रयाणां कुतपानां समूहः संघातो वृन्दमित्युच्यते।

CHAPTER VI

SAPTATANTRĪ-VEENĀ IN THE BUDDHIST CAVES OF PITALKHORĀ

The musicians as well as the musicologists and the lovers of music generally overlook the importance of archaeological finds relating to music. The treatise on music undoubtedly supply to us many a valuable clue with the help of which the obscure and forgotten chapters of history of Indian music get illumined and become meaningful. But it is a fact that the representations of musical instruments and dancing postures with different hand-poses (*mudrās*) of different epochs, carved on the stone-walls and facades of various caves and temples of India furnish us with materials which are indispensable for proper appraisal of the art of music as it flourished in ancient India. As observed by Carl Engle, the sculptures and frescoes of musical instruments and dance-poses relating to different periods of history provide to us knowledge of the culture obtaining in those periods. These should, therefore, be regarded as valuable means to the understanding of the cultural heritage of a people.

Representations of some of the musical instruments on stone have recently been excavated from the Buddhist Caves of Pitalkhorā, carved in the Satmālā range, known also as Chandorā, on the northern fringe of Aurangabad District of Mahārāstra State. The caves of Pitalkhorā lie 50 miles to the south-west of the Ajantā Caves and 23 miles to the north-west of Ellorā. An earlier account of these

Caves, says M. N. Despānde[1] seems to have appeared in 1853, when John Wilson gave a very brief description of the Chaitya Cave and the adjoining Vihāra Cave. Fergusson and Burges also gave a more detailed account of the same in their monumental book, *Cave Temple of India.* In the "Report of the Buddhist Cave-Temples and their Inscriptions" (vide *Archaeological Survey, West India*, IV, London, 1883, pp. 11-12), Burges has further drawn particular attention to the Capitals on the pilasters of the Vihāra and also dealt with the inscriptions, two in the Chaitya and five over the cell-doors of the Vihāra, recording gifts from the the natives of Pratisthāna. In more recent years, fresh light on these Pitalkhorā Caves has been thrown by M. G. Dikshit in the Bombay Historical Society, Nos. 1-2, 1941. It is said that the development of the rock-cut architecture started in the second century B.C. culminating in its final form in the sixth-seventh century A.D. The Caves were taken charge of by the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, in 1953, and are still maintained by them. The ancient name of Pitalkhorā seems to be Pitangalya, which has been mentioned in Ptolemy's account as Petrigala.

Now three portraitures of the *saptatantrī-veeṇā* have been found engraved on stone-slabs, excavated from the debris in the forecourt of Cave No. 4 of Pitalkhorā. Besides them, have also been found one fragmentary sculpture of a winged Kinnara and one of a flying Gandharva. Though the nomenclatures of Kinnara and Gandharva are closely associated with music, as found in ancient lore, in the Epics, and

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1 The Bengali version of the *Jataka*, trnslated by Īśāṇa Chandra Ghose.

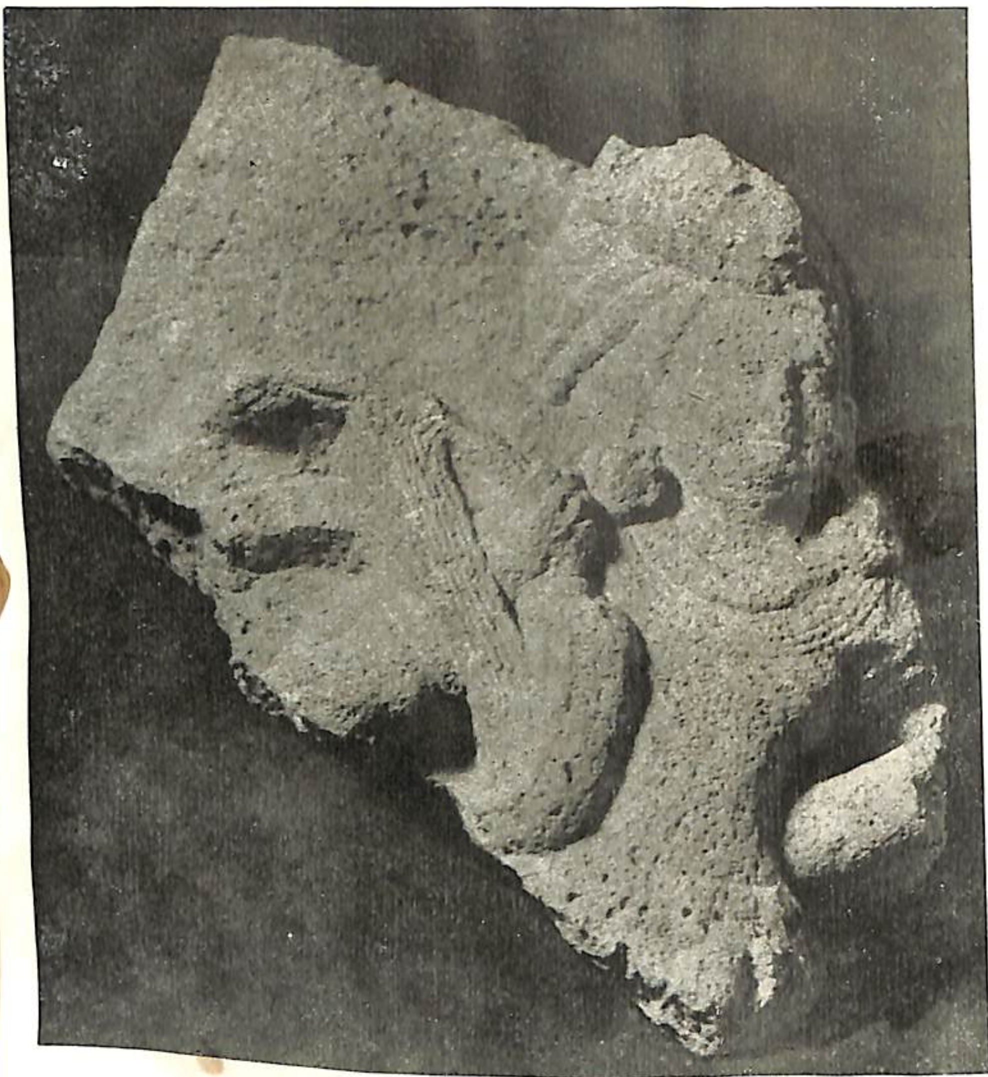
in the classical literature of India, yet the sculptural representations of Kinnara and Gandharva, as found in the Pitalkhorā Caves, are very peculiar in forms and features, for the winged Kinnara has been featured with collared beads in the right hand and a bowl of flowers in the left. The flying Gandharva has been depicted with a shield in his left hand, in heroic pose. During the Vedic period, says the historian R. C. Dutt, the Gandharvas, and the Kinnaras used to be considered as the enemies of the gods, but this conception underwent metamorphosis during the Epic period. It seems that the sculptors of the Buddhist Caves of Pitalkhorā adhered to the Vedic conception, while chiselling those figures of the Gandharva and Kinnara.

The *saptatantrī-veeṇās*, together with their plectrums have been vividly depicted in some sculptures in Cave No. 4. The particular sculptures are three in number, two of which contain the representations of one female and one male musicians. In one of the two, a woman has been portrayed in a reclining posture, playing a *veeṇā*, having seven strings, with her right hand. From the fragmentary piece of the sculpture it appears that the *veeṇā* depicted thereon resembles in shape the Egyptian Harp. It is placed on the lap of the woman who holds the plectrum (*koṇa*) with her thumb and forefinger, and is seen plucking the second string of the *saptatantrī-veeṇā*. In the second one, a youth has been portrayed, holding a *veeṇā* against his right schoulder, and seven strings of the *veeṇā* emanating "from an elliptical gourd with a curved handle, at one end of which are tied the strings". In the third one is found the representation of a male figure, "wearing a *graiveya* and a *hāra* round the neck and heavy floral wreaths on the wrists." A *veeṇā* with seven strings is on his left arm,



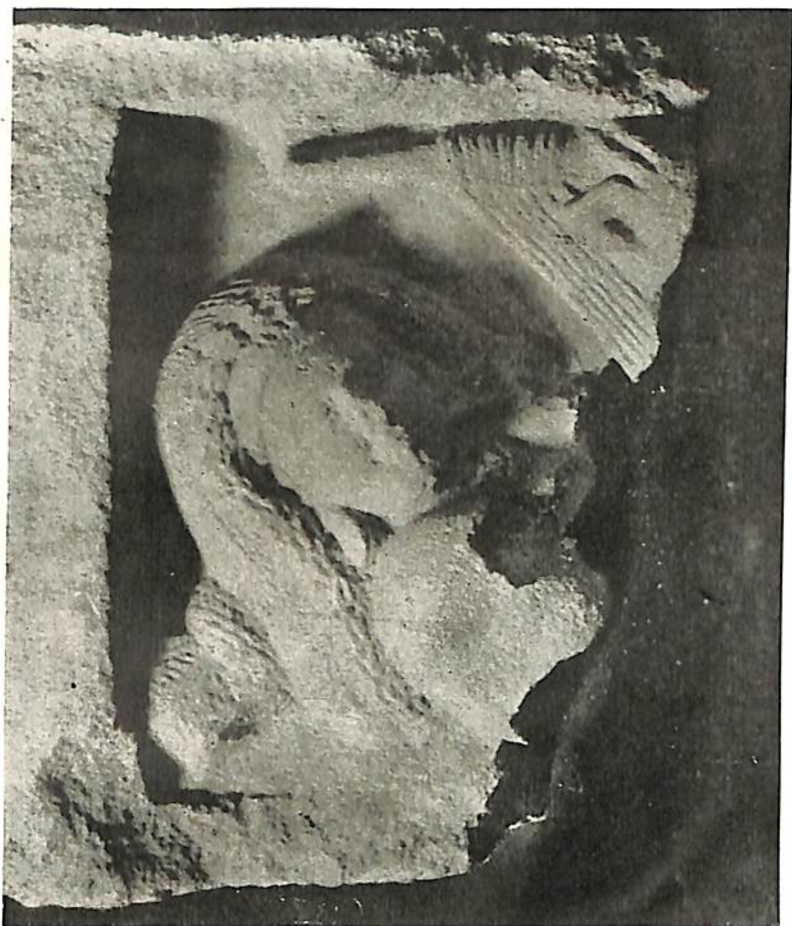
Saptatantri-Veena from Pitalkhora Caves, The Sculpture of a Musician, —Male (2nd Century B.C.—2nd-3rd Century A.D.)

(By the permission of the Archaeological Department, Govt. of India, Delhi)



Saptatantri-Veena from Pitalkhora Cave.

(By the permission of the Archaeological Department, Govt. of India, Delhi)



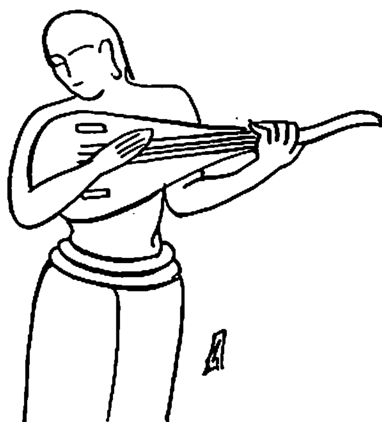
Saptatantri-Veena from Pitalkhora Caves—Sculpture of a Musician, Female.
(By the permission of the Archaeological Department, Govt. of India, Delhi)





1. Samudragupta with *Veena* (4th Century A.D.).
2. The harp-sized *Veena*, Amaravati.

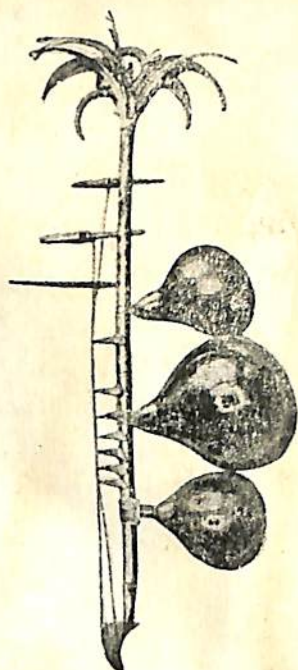






1. (a) Sarode-type *Veena*, Gandhara.
   (b) do. Amaravati.
2. The Veena, Gandhara.







1. The Veena-player. 2. The Modern Veena
(*Nagarjunakonda, 2nd-3rd Century A.D.*)

... and he holds the plectrum in ... hand.

The *saptatantrī-veeṇā* was not a novelty in ancient India. In the Ṛgveda, we find mention of the *veeṇā*, *vāṇa* with hundred strings: "*marutaḥ vāṇaṃ śata-saṅkhyābhis-tantrībhir- ... veeṇā-viśeṣaṃ dhe... ...to vādayantaḥ*". In the Rc. ... .4, it has further been mentioned: "*mātā yanmantu... ...asaya pūrvyā'bhi vāṇasya sapta-dhāturijjanaḥ*". Sāyaṇa has explained it as: "*vāṇasya vādyasya sapta-dhātuḥ niṣādādi-sapta-svaropeto janaḥ abhigacchati tadvat tadguṇopetaṃ bhāvaḥ*". As the term "*sapta-dhātuḥ*" has been used with the word "*vāṇaḥ*," it is probable that '*sapta-dhātuḥ*' signifies 'seven tones' that were produced in the hundred strings of the *veeṇā*, *vāṇa*. But we cannot agree with Sāyaṇa's interpretation of the term "*sapta-dhātuḥ*" as notes like *niṣāda*, *dhaivata*, *pañcama*, *madhyama*, *gāndhāra*, *ṛṣabha* and *ṣaḍja* ("*niṣādādi-sapta-svaropetaḥ*"), because the notes *niṣāda*, etc. are known as the seven notes of both the *gāndharva* and *deśī* types of *laukika* music that evolved after the Vedic period. The Vedic notes went by the names of *kruṣta*, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *caturtha*, *mandra* and *atsvārya*, and it is reasonable to surmise that *sapta-dhātuḥ* or seven notes, that were produced in the hundred strings of the *veeṇā*, *vāṇa*, were the Vedic ones. During the time of Kātyāyaṇa of the *Kalpasūtra*, the *vāṇa* came to be known as the *katyāyaṇī-veeṇā*, and the commentator Karkācārya has called it the *mahatī-veeṇā*, possessed of hundred strings.

The *saptatantrī-veeṇā* is one of the types of the *veeṇā* of the lute class of ancient India. The most ancient type ... *veeṇā* was in the form of a bow, which was known as

dhanuryantram, or a musical instrument fashioned after the hunting bow, having the strings of gut. The 'bow' or *dhanuryantram* is regarded as the forerunner of all classes of string instruments of the world. The *veeṇā* with one string (*ekatantrī*) and the *veeṇā* with two strings (*dvitantrī*) are very ancient, and the historians are of opinion that all kinds of the later developed *veeṇās* evolved from them.

In the Vedic and Buddhist literature, different kinds of *veeṇā* have been mentioned, and the authors like Nārada of the *Śikṣā* (1st century A.D.), Bharata (2nd century A.D.), Mataṅga (5th-7th century A.D.), Pārśvadeva (7th or 9th-11th century A.D.) and Śārańgdeva (early 13th century A.D.) as well as most of the post-Śārańgdeva writers on music have described the characteristics of different kinds of *veeṇā* in their respective works. The Birth-stories or *Jātakas* of Gautama Buddha were compiled sometime between the 3rd-2nd century B.C. Sir Wallis Budge has said in his monumental book, *Bāralām* and *Yewasef* (1923), regarding the Birth-stories of Buddha that the orthodox Buddhists believe that this collection of the Birth-stories was in existence some three or four centuries before the Christian era. At the end of the 3rd century B.C. they were held to be sacred, and they were chosen as the subjects to be represented round the most sacred Buddhist buildings, e.g. in the relics of shrines at Sāñchi, Amarāvatī, Bārhut, etc., and they were popularly known under the technical name of *Jātaka*. The number of the *Jātakas* are 547 or 550 or 565 and of them the *Veeṇāsthuna* and *Guptila Jātakas* in particular contain references about the musical instruments like the *veeṇā*, *veṇu*, etc. It has been mentioned in the *Guptila-jātaka* that Guptila and

Musila used to play the *veeṇā*, having seven strings i.e. *saptatantrī-veeṇā*. The *Guptila-jātaka* states:

> Saptatantrī sumadhura mohinī veeṇār/
> Vādana śikhila antevāsika āmāra//[1]

The *veeṇā* with seven strings has also been described in some classical works of Kālidāsa. The *veeṇā 'saptatantrī'*, perhaps resembled the *citrā-veeṇā*, as described by Bharata in the *Naṭyaśāstra* in the 2nd century A.D. Bharata has said:

> Saptatantrī bhaveccitrā vipañci navatantrīkā/
> Vipañcī koṇavādya syāt citrā cāṅguli-vādanā//
>
> —NS., 29.114.

That is, the *citrā-veeṇā*, having seven strings, used to be played by finger, whereas the *vipañcī-veeṇā*, having nine strings, by plectrum (*koṇa*). Nārada has mentioned about the *veeṇās*, *dāravī* and *gātra* in the *Nāradīśikṣā* (1st century A.D.). It is said that the *dāravī-veeṇā*, which contained seven strings, was used as an accompaniment to classical type of *deśī* or formalised regional music. We also get the reference of the *saptatantrī-veeṇā* during the time of the Pallava King, Rājā Mahendravarman, who lived in the 7th century A.D. It has been said that Rājā Mahendravarman was himself an accomplished *veeṇā*-player, and received his training in the *veeṇā* from his learned teacher, Rudrācārya. The *veeṇā*, which he used to play, was known as the *parivādinī*, having seven strings. Dr. Rāghavan has said in this connection in his illuminating article: *Music in the Deccan and South India* (vide The

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1 Bengali version, from the *Jātaka*, translated by Īśāṇa Chandra Ghose.

Behār Theatre, No. 7, January, 1956): "To the east of Kudumiyamālāi Inscription, there is a label "*parivādinī-da*" helping us to understand the notation given in this inscription, as pertaining to the music on the *veeṇā* called *parivādinī*, a lute of seven strings". From this it becomes clear that the *saptatantrī-veeṇā* was in vogue in Indian society even from the 3rd century B.C. to 7th-8th century A. D.[1] Our modern *sitār* with seven strings is but the modified form of the ancient *citrā-veeṇā*, though it is erroneously believed that the Indo-Persian poet Āmir Khusrau fashioned and introduced it into India for the first time in the 13th century A.D. Most of the post-Bharata musicologists have also mentioned about the *saptatantrī-veeṇā* in their respective works on music.

Regarding the forms of the ancient musical instruments of the *veeṇā* class, it can be said that most of them were bow-shaped, resembling the Egyptian harp, as has been

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1 John Burnet has said in his *Greek Philosophy*: "In the time of Pythagoras the lyre had seven strings, and it is not improbable that the eighth was added later as the result of his discoveries. All the strings were of equal length, and were tuned to the required pitch by tension and relaxation. This was done entirely by ear, and the first things was to make the two outside strings (*hypaté* and *neté*) concordant, in the sense explained, with one another, with the middle string (*mesé*), and with the string just above it (*trité*, later *paramesé*). The notes of these four strings were called 'stationary', and were similarly related to one another in every kind of scale; the notes of the other three (or four in the eight-stringed lyre) were 'movable' and scales were distinguished as enharmonic, chromatic. and diatonic (with their varieties), according as these strings were tuned more or less closely to the same pitch as the nearest fixed notes".

stated before. The representations of the three *saptatantrī-veeṇās*, engraved on stones, which have been excavated from the Buddhist Cave (Cave No. 4) of Pitalkhorā,[1] are bow or harp-shaped, and most of the ancient *veeṇās*, though differing in number of strings, were of the same shape. The *veeṇās* featured in the sculptures of Gāndhāra (1st-2nd century A. D.), Barabudur (8th century A. D.), Kāmboja (6th-13th century A. D.), Kizil (Turfān, Central Asia, 6th century A. D.), Amarāvatī (2nd-3rd century A.D.), Ajantā (2nd-7th century A. D.), Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (2nd-3rd century A. D.), Sātnā (2nd century A. D.), Mahāvallipuraṃ (7th century A. D.), Pāhārpur (8th century A. D.), Anurādhāpuraṃ, Ceylon (2nd-3rd century A. D.), and other places resemble the bow-shape. The *veeṇās* of ancient Egypt (4000 B. C.) and ancient Sumer (3200 B. C.) were also bow-shaped. While discussing about the harp family, Hortense Panum says that the bow-harp was chiefly known from the Egyptian mural drawings in which it might be found as early as three to four thousand years B. C. The harp of antiquity did not use the front pillar which in the modern harp stays the string-frame, and the longest string was at the open side. Moreover, the frame of the ancient harps to which strings of unequal length were attached, took the form of a semi-circle or of an angle made of two staves. In the earliest known picture, the bow-harp only took the form of a somewhat more amply-strung counterpart of the bow-harp still in use among some of the north-African tribes. On a slightly curved and apparently

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1 *Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan*, published (1959) in "*Ancient India*" (Bulletin No. 15 of the Archaeological Survey of India) pp. 66-93.

still quite solid stick, which was of equal thickness from end to end, six strings were attached. A bow-harp was found in the tomb of Ka-Em-Nofer in Egypt, having seven strings. This kind of bow-shaped lute or *veeṇā* was prevalent in India in ancient times. The *veeṇā*, embossed on the coin of the Emperor Samudragupta II (4th century A.D.) is also of the identical shape (bow-shape). Again the *veeṇās*, perpendicular in shape with a gourd at each end, are also found in the sculptures of Mahāvallipuraṃ (7th century A. D.), Ajantā (2nd-7th century A. D.), Bengal (Bāgālī-Kāleśvara, 14th century A. D.), and Rangpur (Bengal, 9th century A. D.). But the sculptural representations of the three *saptatantrī-veeṇās* of the Buddhist Caves of Pitalkhorā were palpably of the bow or harp type.

Now it may be asked in this connection as to why the bow-shaped as well as harplike *veeṇās* went out of practice in later days in Indian countries? It is a fact that most of the *veeṇās*, engraved in ancient sculptures and depicted in frescos and mural paintings in the Buddhist Cave-temples and monasteries as well as in the Hindu temples, are bow-shaped or harplike ones. It is found that ancient traditions die hard and generally followed by every society, in spite of emergence of new vision in artistic sense and creation. But it is also a fact that in the present Indian society, the bow-shaped as well as harplike *veeṇās* have become obsolete.

Prof. Rühlmann is of opinion that the bowed instruments had arisen independently at different times and in different places amongst advanced civilized peoples, but that they had always sprung from a primitive, rude form. Dr. Otto Anderson, Prof. Hortense Panum, Francis W. Galpin, Fétis and other Western scholars are of the same opinion to some extent. Regarding harp and its family, Prof. Panum

has said that the harp family "is divided into two branches: (1) the Harp Proper, in which the strings are stretched freely so that the hands may reach them from either side, and (2) the Psaltery, in which the strings are extended over a sound-board so that they can be twanged from one side only".

There were also bow-shaped harps, and they were chiefly known from the Egyptian mural drawings in which it may be found as early as three to four thousand years B.C. "It may accordingly be considered with some probability as the original type out of which all the harps were evolved". In India, long before the advent of the Christian era, the *veeṇā* used to be made out of bamboo and different kinds of wood in the forms of bow and harp proper. Most of the historians are of opinion that the Indian lute or *veeṇā* first evolved from the bow, and the very primitive type of *veeṇā* was in the shape of a bow (Indian, *dhanu*). Afterwards it took the shape or form of the harp. In ancient Greece, Rome, Egypt, Western Asia, Assyria as well as in Wales, Scandinavian and other countries, the bow- and harp-shaped *veeṇās* and other string instruments were in practice, and still these types of musical instruments are in use in different Western countries. History informs us that even the most ancient past becomes a common source of impetus and inspiration to all nations of the world in the field of new creation, and as such it is a matter of surprise as to how the bow-shaped and harplike *veeṇās* and other musical instruments went into oblivion from the present-day Indian society. The mystery of the real cause of their disappearance has not yet been unravelled, or it can be said that the question as to how, when and why the bow-shaped and harp-sized *veeṇās* went gradually out of practice from

the present Indian countries is purely a psychological one. It might have been the fact that as taste, along with the sense of beauty and artistic creation, change through ages, the present Indian society has found the practices of bow-shaped and ḥarplike *veeṇās* as uncongenial for its purpose.

Again there may arise a question that will it be reasonable to assume or ascertain the real shapes, sizes and designs of the present-day *veeṇās* and other musical instruments from those of the ancient ones, as depicted in the ancient sculptures and paintings of the Buddhist and Hindu Cave-temples and monasteries? Because, even in present days it is found that most of the sculptures and painters are not fully conversant with the correct knowledge of the methods and principles of construction, of exact sizes and arrangements of the frets and wires in the instruments, and yet they chisel and paint or rather represent the musical instruments only to prove their existence and practice in the then society. It has been found that the depictions of shapes and positions of many musical instruments do not exactly tally with those of the modern instruments already existing in the present society. So some scholars are of opinion that it will not be wise to assume or ascertain the exact shapes, sizes, numbers of wire and fret of the modern musical instruments, from those, depicted in the ancient sculptures and fresco paintings. But it cannot be denied the fact that from the representations of the musical instruments in ancient sculptures and paintings, it is possible to know and ascertain that such and such musical instruments were in vogue in ancient society.

APPENDIX OF THE CHAPTER VI

I. The method of playing on *veeṇā*, as described in the *Nāradīśikṣā*:

दारवी गात्रवीणा च द्वे वीणे गानजातिषु ।
सामिकी गात्रवीणा तु तस्याः श्रृणुत लक्षणम् ॥
गात्रवीणी तु सा प्रोक्ता यस्यां गायन्ति सामगाः ।
स्वरव्यञ्जनसंयुक्ता अङ्गुल्यङ्गुष्ठरञ्जिता ॥
हस्तौ संयुक्तौ धार्यौ जानुभ्यामुपरिस्थितौ ।
गुरोरनुकृतिं कुर्याद्यथा ज्ञानमतिर्भवेत् ॥
प्रणवं प्राक्प्रयुञ्जीत वाह्यतीस्तदनन्तरम् ।
सावित्रीं चानुवचनं ततो वृत्तान्तमारभेत् ॥
प्रसार्य चाङ्गुलीः सर्वा रोपयेत् स्वरमण्डलम् ।
नचाङ्गुलिभिरङ्गुष्ठमङ्गुष्ठेनाङ्गुलीः स्पृशेत् ॥
विरला नाङ्गुली कुर्यान्मूले चैनानमंस्पृशेत् ।
अङ्गुष्ठाग्रेण ता नित्यं मध्यमे पर्वणि स्पृशेत् ॥
मात्रद्विमात्रवृद्धानां विभागार्थं विभागवित् ।
अङ्गुलीभिद्विर्मात्रं तु प्राणेः सव्यस्य दर्शयेत् ॥
त्रिरेखा तत्र दृश्यते सन्धिं तत्र विनिर्दिशेत् ।
स पर्व इति विज्ञेयः शेषमन्तरमन्तरम् ॥
यवान्तरं तु सामस्त्वृत्तु(?)कुर्यात्तिलान्तरम् ।
स्वरान्मध्यमपर्वसु सुनिविष्टान्निवेशयेत् ॥
न चात्र कम्पयेत्किञ्चिदङ्गस्यावयवं वुधः ।
अधस्तनं मृदुं न्यस्य हस्तमास्ते यथाक्रमम् ॥
अभ्रमध्ये यथा विद्युद्दृश्यते मणिसूत्रवत् ।
एषच्छेदो विवृत्तीनां यथा बालेषु कर्तरि ॥ (क्षपकः) etc.

—*Nāradīśikṣā* (Vārānasī ed.),
Chapter VI.

The *Veeṇātantra* deals elaborately with the method of playing on the *veeṇā*.

II Vācanācārya Sudhākalaśa says about *veeṇā*:

एकतन्त्री द्वितन्त्री च त्रितन्त्री सप्ततन्त्रिका ।
एकविंशतितन्त्री चेत् उत्तमा मध्यमापराः ॥
भजते सर्ववीणासु सैकतन्त्री प्रधानताम् ।[1]
ब्रह्महत्यां हरत्येषा दर्शनात् स्पर्शनादपि ॥
दण्डः शिवः शिवा तन्त्री नाभिभूर्नाभिरुच्यते ।
तुम्बं विष्णुः कला ब्राह्मी वासुकिर्दोरकास्त्वतः ॥
स्वरान् ग्रामान् मूर्छनाश्च तालालप्तिश्रुतीस्तथा ।
संसाध्य तस्यां रागास्तु सर्वे वाद्या(ः) सुबुद्धिभिः ॥
स्वरसाधनसंस्थानविन्दुसप्तकदण्डया ।
वीणया निर्मिताभ्यासो नादः शुद्धिकरः परः ॥

—*Saṅgītopanisatsāroddhāra*,
Chapter IV, 11-15.

III. Two kinds of playing, *sakala* and *niṣkala*:

सकलं निष्कलं चेति तन्त्रीवाद्यं द्विधा भवेत् ।
सकोणं सकलं प्रोक्तं निष्कोणं निष्कलं भवेत् ॥
आलापिन्यादि वीणाङ्गं विशेषोऽयं प्रदर्शिरे ।
सकलं छिन्नया (वा जीवया)-युक्तं निष्फत्तं शून्यमेतया ॥

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1 Different reading: चैकतन्त्री प्रधावताम् ।

CHAPTER VII

THE CONCEPT OF RĀGA

The conception of *rāga* is a grand and wonderful thing that had ever been produced in the domain of music in the world. It is the outcome of human mind's direct mode of apprehending as well as appreciating the aesthetic beauty *par excellence*, as distinct from all contingent phenomenal things. It can be said to be the product of intuitive perception of the all-pervading abstract beauty, metamorphosed into a concrete idea or concept. This concept is a vital force that designed the grand structure of music. Really concept is the means for forming or constructing a conception of a thing. It is a general idea or meaning, bearing no distinct reference to any concrete object of sensing. It can otherwise be called a thought-construction, carrying with it the idea or notion of a general nature or meaning which may be applicable to an individual or object. The concept of *rāga* is, therefore, a product of thought or idea of settings of abstract ideal of tones, transformed in concrete form.

From a historical survey we find that *rāgas* probably evolved in the beginning of the classical period i.e. in 600-500 B.C., and they were evidently used in that time. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, we come across the *rāgas* in a definite form. Nārada of the *Śikṣā* of the 1st century A.D. has mentioned the word *rāga* in connection with the seven *grāmarāgas* like *ṣāḍava*, *madhyamagrāma*, *ṣaḍjagrāma*, *pañcama*, *sādhārita*, *kaiśika* and *kaiśika-madhyama*. In the 4th canto of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Vālmīki has definitely

described the pure (*śuddha*) type of seven *jātirāgas*, with the application of their registers. (*sthānas*), *mūrcchanās*, and aesthetic sentiments and moods. The wandering bards like Kuśa and Lava used to sing the *Rāmacarita-gāna* with the help of seven classical parent or causal melodies like the *jātis*. In the 2nd century A.D., Muni Bharata has only elaborated those seven *jātirāgas* into eighteen, adding eleven more mixed *jātirāgas*. Bharata has formulated ten specific characters or essentials like *graha*, *aṁśa*, *nyāsa*, *alpatva*, *vahutva*, etc. to determine the genuine forms of the *jātis* (*rāgas*). Like Vālmīki, he has also mentioned about the emotional sentiments and moods of the *jātirāgas* so as to create the corresponding sentiments and moods in the minds of the appreciators. He has also admitted that the *jātis* are the precursors or forerunners of all kinds of *mārga* and *deśī rāgas* to be evolved in future. Regarding the eighteen parent *rāgas* or *jātirāgas*, described in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, MM. Rāmakrishṇa Kavi has said: "Among the ancient works on music, the *rāgas* were classified into eighteen *jātis*, which simply show the main characteristic of *rāgas* that come under each *jāti*". Unfortunately some scholars are not inclined to admit the status of the *jātis*, described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as *rāgas*, because, according to them, the *jātis* of the *Nāṭyaśātra* do not contain the real characteristic as well as do not bear the real significance of the *rāgas*. But, we think, they fail to realize the real purport of the *jātis* and their ten essentials, as described by Bharata. Bharata has clearly said: "*jātisambhūtatvāt*", etc. While determining the characteristic or significance of the word *jāti*, Mataṅga has said: "*athavā sakalasya rāgāder-janma-hetutvājjātyādaya iti*". He has further said that all

the *śrutis*, *grahas*, and *svaras* (notes or tones) evolve from the *jāti*. So *jāti*, being the source or fountain-head of all kinds of *rāgas*, is known as the causal or parent *rāga*. As regards the specific character of the *jātis*, he has also said: "*idānīṃ viśeṣa-lakṣaṇamāha-grahāṁśau* * *, *tatrādau jātyādi-prayogo gṛhyate yenāsau grahaḥ*".

It is a fact that Bharata has not given any definition of the word *rāga*, but he has simply described the *rāgas* under the head of the *jātis*, with their determining essentials and other necessary features. It is Mataṅga, who, for the first time, has given a clear definition of *rāga* in the *Bṛhaddeśī*. Mataṅga has said: "*yannoktaṃ bharatādibi tadasmābhiḥ nirūpyate*". By the term *ādi*, he has meant Bharata and his contemporaries like Kohala, and others. Mataṅga has defined the word *rāga* in three different ways, and they are:

(a) svara-varṇa-viśeṣeṇa dhvanibhedena vā punaḥ/
rajyate yena yaḥ kaścit sa rāgaḥ sammataḥ satāṃ//

(b) yo'sau dhvani-viśeṣastu svaravarṇa-vibhūṣitaḥ/
rajjako janacittānāṃ sa ca rāga udāhṛtaḥ//

(c) ityevaṃ rāga-śabdasya vyutpattirabhidhiyate/
rajjanājjāyate rāgo vyutpattiḥ-samudā'hṛta//

From the above *ślokas* or definitions we come to know that the word *rāga* has been derived from the root '*rañj*'— 'to tinge' or 'to impress'. Just as a sheet of white cloth can be tinged with some colours, in the like manner, the minds of men and animals get tinged as it were, with the pleasing vibrations of sweet sounds (tones) of music. In fact, the vibrations of sweet sounds of tones of both vocal and instrumental music create soothing and pleasing

sensations (*saṁvedanas* as the *saṁskāras*) in the mind, and the total material form of such sensations or impressions is said to be the *rāga*. In fact, a *rāga* is more than the sensations or impressions or a bundle of impressions, and that all kinds of sound, sweet or harsh,—musical or noise, create some impressions of their own, and as such it may be asked as to why all kinds of such impression cannot be termed to be the *rāga*? To this question it can be answered that the intuitive musicologists as well as the scientists have carefully observed and examined the aesthetic aspects of all kinds of sounds and their vibrations, and have come to the conclusion that sounds of music i.e. musical tones are more delicate, charming, attractive and sweet than all other sounds, and so the vibrations or minute sound-units of music create sweeter and more soothing impressions in the minds of all, with their abiding value and beauty. And the name '*rāga*' has been so given as it creates pleasing impressions-cum-sensations in the minds of all living beings. Besides, the Śāstrakāras have said that the *rāgas* are possessed of some specific qualities as well as characteristics which determine them and animate them with life and energy. We thus find that the *rāgas* have in them the musical propensities and value, which attract the mind, help to concentrate the dispersed or scattered modifications of the mind, and thus lead the audiences and lovers of music to the realm of meditation, which brings peace, joy and happiness.

In this connection, it should be borne in mind that no single sound has the power to charm or attract any man or animal, but it requires to be combined with a successive series of agreeable sweet tones (sound-units) to produce the desired effect. Well has it been said by Vidwān T. V.

Subbā Rāo in connection with his Readership lecture on the *Seven Lamps of Saṅgīta*: "A simple tone by itself has little or nothing to please, but in conbination with or in close succession to, certain other tones, its power to delight is high. A compound tone is always agreeable on account of the presence of the partials. These upper partials are produced by the vibration of the string in aliquot parts along with the vibration of the whole string; and these notes agree with the note of the entire string. In this agreement lies the secret of the pleasurable sensation in music. * * Every note that is used in music must have at least a fair measure of concord with the fundamental. It must also agree with the note precedes it and the note that succeeds it. Though our system of music is melodic and produces its effects by a succession of notes rather than by a super-imposition of them, yet it must so far be conceded that the foundation of melody is harmony. The notes are derived on the basis of harmony, but they are applied on the principle of melody. That the pleasure of harmony may be sensed by the ear, the *ṣaḍja* and *pañcama* are always sounded in the drone so that all the notes used may be perceived to agree with them".

Now, what is the psychological process behind the perception of a *rāga*? A *rāga* is a psycho-material object, because it originates first in the form of impressions (*saṁskāras*) in the depth of the mind, and then rises above the plane of the subconscious or unconscious mind and manifests itself in the outside world in the materialized form and is perceived by the senses. So when we say that we perceive and appreciate the *rāga*, it means that we perceive and appreciate the projected material form of the ideal aspect of the *rāga*. In fact, we ideally perceive and appreciate

only the features of grace and sweetness (*lāvanya* and *mādhurya*) of the *rāga*, and the intricasies of the tones, having their movements like upward and downward motions (*ārohaṇa* and *avarohaṇa*), are only the external features of the *rāga*. Modern psychologists are of opinion that all the activities of our bodies and other organic functions are no other than the result of the reflex actions of the mind. When we hear a sound, sweet or harsh, pleasant or unpleasant, it at once enters our ears and produces agreeable or disagreeable impressions. That impressions are again translated into a kind of feeling or sensation (*anubhūti* or *saṁvedana*), and the mind immediately reacts through the reflex action, and then we pay our attention (mind) to the effect of the sound, which means we listen to and appreciate the sound. This happens also in the case of musical sounds or music. So we shall have to admit the existence of an intelligence or intelligent something behind the process as its mover or doer or director, and the process of our listening and appreciating music means we come in contact with both the intelligence (*buddhi* or *caitanya*) and the projected material form (*vastu* or *viṣayasattvā*) of music.

In other words, it can be said that the *psyche*[1] or mind is the reservoir of all kinds of impressions. When an object comes in contact with the *psyche* or mind through the gates of senses, it is transformed into impressions. The shining intellect then enlightens i.e. animates the impressions, which are at once translated into a sensation or feeling. The *psyche* or mind is conscious of the object

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1 In the Western Psychology, *psyche* is known as 'mind', whereas in the Indian Psychology, it is known as 'soul' or '*ātman*'.

with its intrinsic value and beauty. It happens during the perception of the musical sounds of the *rāgas*. As soon as we come in contact with beauty, grace and sweetness of the *rāgas* through the senses, they go at once into the brain in the form of impressions. Then the *psyche* or mind receives those impressions through the medium of the shining intellect, and they are again translated into the senses, and the result is that we perceive or realize or appreciate the *rāgas*, possessed of sensible forms and inherent qualities like beauty, grace and sweetness (*saundarya*, *lāvanya* and *mādhurya*). And this is the process of perception of material things and qualities.

According to musicology, the *rāgas* evolve from the *thāṭas*, or *melas*, or *melakartās*. The *thāṭas* or *melas* or *melakartās* form the base or fountain-head of the *rāgas*. And it should be remembered that a *thāṭa* or *mela* or *melakartā* is also a *rāga* and it is known as the *mela* or *melakartā rāga*, which means the causal or parent *rāga*, just as a *jāti* (*jātirāga*) is recognized as the causal or parent *rāga* being the source of the *grāmarāgas* and different *aṅga-rāgas*, evolved in the later time.

Now, what do we mean by a *thāṭa* or *mela*? The word *thāṭa* is of Sanskrit origin,[1] which means the structure or form (*kāṭḥāma*), and the word *mela* is also a Sanskrit one. A *thāṭa* or *mela* is a composite body of seven tones in ascent and descent series (*ārohaṇa* and *avarohaṇa kramas*).

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1 The word *thāṭa* (थाट) is a Sanskrit name, whereas *ṭhāṭa* (ठाट) is a Persian one, but both of them convey the same meaning of 'structure' or 'form' (*kāṭḥāma* or *gaṭhana*).

A *thāṭa* or *mela* is consisted of seven tones, and innumerable *rāgas* (melodic forms) evolve from the *thāṭa* or *mela* by the process of permutation and combination of seven tones. A *thāṭa* or *mela* may be called a dynamic force-centre, from which innumerable *rāgas* flower forth with their specific qualities and forms. Paṇḍit Ahobala (1700 A.D.) has said: "*mela svara-samūha syād rāgavyañjana-śaktiṃ*", i.e. a *mela* is a combination of tones, and it has a power to create the *rāgas*. Therefore every *rāga* has a *mela* or *thāṭa* for its basis or ground of origin.

The *mūrcchanā* is the precursor or forerunner of the *mela* or *thāṭa* (or *ṭhāṭa*). The practice of *mūrcchanā* was prevalent probably from the beginning of the classical period (600-500 B.C.). It is probable that when Brahmā or Brahmābharata created the new type of *gāna*, *gāndharva* out of the materials of the four Vedas (of the *sāmagānas*), the use of the *mūrcchanās* was in practice along with the *rāgas* (*jātis* or *jātirāgas*). In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṁśa* and different *Purāṇas*, we find the use of *mūrcchanās* of different types along with different schools of *gāna*. The *mūrcchanās* have been described in the early treatises like the *Nāradīśikṣā*, *Nāṭyaśāstra* and other contemporary works. From the 1st-2nd to 15th-16th century A.D., the *mūrcchanās* were recognized as the dominating principle for determining the nature and form of the *rāgas*, both *gāndharva* and formalized *deśī*. During the time of Nārada of the *Śikṣā*, Bharata, Dattila, Yāṣṭika, Mataṅga, Pārśvadeva, Śāraṅgdeva, Nārada of the *Makaranda*, Somanāth, Ahobala and even Paṇḍit Dāmodara (17th century), the *rāgas* used to be determined as well as recognised by their respective *mūrcchanās*.

A *mūrcchanā* is a succession of seven tones in ascending

and descending orders. Etymologically it means 'swoon' (*mūrcchā*). A *rāga* is made to emerge by increasing or elevating it with the help of the *mūrcchanā*. It is mainly divided into four, *pūrṇa*, *ṣāḍava*, *auḍava* (or *auḍavita*) and *sādhāraṇa*. A *pūrṇa mūrcchanā* is so called because it is manifested with seven tones. A *ṣāḍava mūrcchanā* is manifested with six tones; an *auḍava mūrcchanā*, with five tones, and a *sādhāraṇa mūrcchanā* is manifested with *kākalī-niṣāda* and *antara-gāndhāra* tones. Mataṅga has said that a *rāga* is called a *mūrcchanā* when it is manifested in ascending and descending orders of tones: "*mūrcchate yena rāge hi mūrcchanetyabhisañjita*". From this it is understood that a *rāga* is no other than a *mūrcchanā*, only difference between them lies in the fact that a *rāga* is possessed of the pleasing and soothing capacity, inspite of its ascending-desending form, while a *mūrcchanā* is possessed of the capacity of creating a *rāga*. Paṇḍit V. N. Bhātkhaṇḍe has said,

> melaḥ syān-mūrcchanādhāro grāmādhāra tu mūrcchanā/
> svarebhyo grāma-sambhūtiḥ śrutayaḥ svara-janmabhuḥ//
> mela svara-samūhaḥ syād-rāga-vyañjana-śaktimāṇ/

That is, the base or ground of a *thāṭa* or *mela* is the *mūrcchanā*, or it can be said that a *mela* derives its origin from *mūrcchanā*, a *mūrcchanā* from a *grāma* (ancient scale), a *grāma* from a series of tones, and a tone from microtones (*śrutis*). So a *mela* is no other than a cluster of tones, from which a *rāga* also originates. As for example, the *mūrcchanā*, *uttaramandrā* (of the *ādhāra-ṣaḍjagrāma*) consists of the tones, sa ri ga ma pa dha ni; the *mūrcchanā*, *rajanī* consists of the tones ni sa re ga ma pa dha; the *mūrcchanā*, *uttarāyatā* consists of the tones, dha ni sa ri ga

ma pa, and so on. So it is a fact that a *rāga* is consisted of the successive tones to form its skelital structure. A *tāna* also consists of successive tones. So it is found that a *mūrcchana*, a *rāga* and a *tāna* all these three musical principles are composed of series of successive tones, and, therefore, it may be asked as to what are the differences among them. The difference between a *rāga* and a *mūrcchanā* has already been explained before. Now, as regards the difference between a *mūrcchanā* and a *tāna* it can be said that a *mūrcchanā* is known by its successive series of ascending and descending tones, whereas a *tāna* is recognised by its successive series of descending tones only. The text of Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī* is, in this respect, incorrect, and it has been correctly mentioned in Somanāth's *Rāgavibodha* (vide chapter I. 44). And it should be remembered that from different variations of *mūrcchanās* there evolved numerous *rāgas* of different forms. In the present systems of Northern and Southern (Hindusthānī and Carnātic) music, *mūrcchanās* have been replaced by the *thāṭas* or *melas* and *melakartās*, and the *rāgas* of both the systems have originated from the *melas* and *melakartās*.

Now the students of Indian history of music know that the Saṅgīta-Śāstrakāras have mentioned about the three ancient scales like *ṣaḍjagrāma*, *madhyamagrāma* and *gāndhāragrāma*. In the times of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa* (400-200 B. C.) and some of the early *Purāṇas*, these three *grāmas* were in practice, and the *jātirāgas* and the *grāmarāgas* used to be determined by these *grāmas*. Some are of opinion that the ancient *grāmas* were no other than the three *modes*, and the *jātirāgas* and the *grāmarāgas* used to be presented in the three different modes or ways.

But in the *Mahābhārata-Harivaṁśa*, we get the reference as to the existence of six *grāmarāgas* ("*ṣaḍ-grāmarāgāni*"), which were, it is said, the product of six ancient scales (*grāmas*). In the *Nāradīśikṣā* (1st century A.D.), we find the description of seven *grāmarāgas*, which correspond to the seven ancient scales, and they are supported by the Rock Inscription of Kudumiamālāi in the Pādukottai State, in South India, in the 7th century A.D. But it is surprising to note that Bharata has mentioned only two *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*, and from this it will not be difficult to find out that during the 2nd century A. D., the *gāndhāragrāma* became out of practice. We further come to know that by the times of Somanāth, Śrinivāsa and Paṇḍit Ahobala, the *madhyamagrāma* also became obsolete, and from that time (17th century A.D.) the basic or *ādhāra-ṣaḍjagrāma* exists as the base of the *thāṭas* or *melas* as well as of the *rāgas*.

The *mūrcchanā* were also replaced by the *thāṭas* or *melas* probably by the time of Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.), and it bears confirmation of Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) and other music scholars. Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya has said: "*svarānāmatha vyakṣate ye mela rāgahetavaḥ*". Rāmāmatya has also formulated twenty basic (*janaka*) *melas* with the *mukhārī* at their head as the *śuddha* scale. After him, Paṇḍit Somanāth has mentioned in the *Rāgavibodha*: "*atha kathyante melaḥ kramarūpāsti bhavanti*" etc. In his commentary, he has defined the *mela* as "*milanti vargībhavanti rāgāḥ yatreti tadāśrayāḥ svara-saṁsthāna-viśeṣā melāḥ, 'thāṭa' iti bhāṣāyām*". It will be of interest to note that though Kallināth (1446-1465 A.D.), the commentator of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* has not mentioned the term '*mela*', yet he has used the term '*melana*' in the sense of using in

musical parlance. Paṇḍit Govīnda Dīkṣit (1614 A.D.) has mentioned that he has adopted his system of *mela*, following the 15 basic scales, advocated by Vidyāraṇya Svāmī (14th-15th century A.D.). From this we can assume that from the 14th-15th century, the system of replacement of *mūrcchanā* by *mela* came in vogue. Therefore, by the times of Pt. Rāmāmatya and Pt. Somanāth *mūrcchanā* as a determining principle of the *rāgas* completely disappeared, yeilding the place to the *mela* or *thāṭa*.

The *rāgas* are classified into three main categories, *śuddha* (independent), *sālaga* or *chāyālaga* (dependent) and *saṁkīrṇa* (mixed or compound). The *śuddha rāgas* are formed independently of other resources. Kallināth's definition of it is different, but yet new and novel. He has said that the *śuddha rāgas* (independent melodies) are those which do not violate the prescribed rules of the Vedic *śāstrageya-gāna*, and from this it is evident that the *śuddha rāgas* are age-long traditional. The *sālaga* or *chāyālaga rāgas* always depend on other *rāga* or *rāgas* for its or their constitution and nourishment. The *saṁkīrṇa rāgas* are an admixture of both the *śuddha* and *sālaga rāgas*. Śāraṅgdeva and Somanāth have described these three classes of *rāgas* in their *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* and *Rāgavibodha* explicitly.

The authors on music have further classified the *rāgas* into three *jātis*, *sampūrṇa* (cluster of seven tones), *ṣāḍava* (cluster of six tones), and *auḍava* (cluster of five tones). The *jātis* are determined by the number of tones of the *rāgas*. Further the *rāgas* can be divided into nine classes, mixed with each other, and they are: (i) *auḍava-auḍava*, *auḍava ṣāḍava*, and *aūḍava-sampūrṇa*; (ii) *ṣāḍava-auḍava*,

ṣāḍava-ṣāḍava and *ṣāḍava-sampūrṇa*, and (iii) *sampūrṇa-auḍava, sampūrṇa-ṣāḍava* and *sampūrṇa-sampūrṇa*.

It should be remembered that a *thāṭa* or *mela* is always in a heptatonic form i.e. it is constituted out of seven tones. But the *rāgas* do not maintain the same number, although they born of the *thāṭas* or *melas*. As for example, we find that the *rāgas* are sometimes heptatonic, sometimes hexatonic and sometimes pentatonic in forms. Again, a *rāga* is known by its dominant note or tone, which called an *aṁśa* or a *vādī*. But it is interesting to note that by the time of Bharata (2nd century A.D.), the *rāgas* (*jāti-rāgas*) used to be determined by more than one *aṁśa* (which bear the equal status of a *vādī*). The *āṁśa, graha* and *nyāsa* are the three essentials of a *rāga*, and they are part and parcel of the ten essentials or *daśa-lakṣaṇas*. The *graha* is the initial tone, whereas the *nyāsa*, the final one. During Bharata's time, in the 2nd century A.D. these two essentials, *graha* and *aṁśa* were used as synonymous terms. But gradually they conveyed different meanings, and by the time of Mataṅga in the 5th-7th century A. D., they were treated as separate ones, though Mataṅga has said: "*aṁśa vādyeva paraṃ, grahastu vādyādi-bhedabhinnaḥ*". An *aṁśa* or *a vādī* really determines the genuine form and nature of the *rāga*, and so Mataṅga has defined *vādī* as "*vadanāt iti vādī*". Pārśvadeva (7th-9th or 7th-11th century A. D.) has also supported this definition. In fact, an *aṁśa* or a *vādī* is recognized as a predominant factor of a *rāga*. A tone as a *vādī* (sonant) is always followed by a *samvādī* (consonant) and an *anuvādī* (assonant). The tone, *samvādī* may be called as a concordant one, because it helps to make *vādī* more explicit. The *anuvādī* or assonant plays the role of a subordinate tone. There is another tone, which is

known as a *vivādī* or a discordant one. It is said that the tone, *vivādī* spoils the form as well as the spirit of the *rāga*.

The seers of music in India never regard a *rāga* as a mere skeleton of tones and semitones, but recognize them as an embodiment of living and dynamic force. They have made each *rāga* divine, and regard them as a source of inspiration and hope. They have surcharged the *rāgas* with different emotional sentiments and moods (*rasa* and *bhāva*). Probably from the 15th-17th century A. D., the inspired poets composed the *dhyānamantrams* (contemplative compositions) of the *rāgas* in colourful meters and beautiful words (*chanda* and *sāhitya*), and the intuitive artists began to give them graceful forms in colours. The iconographical aspects and representations of the *rāgas* were materialized in the vision of the artists, and so to say that the ideal vision of music became real and vivid at that time with its practical value and spiritual significance, which were the keynote to the songs, nay, to the life of all living beings.

CHAPTER VIII

ARYAN AND NON-ARYAN ORIGIN OF SOME INDIAN RĀGAS

We love music, but sometimes miss its ideal that prevailed in ancient India. We mainly dabble in the theory of music, which means generally the grammar of music. But strictly speaking, theory of music includes in its fold all the aspects other than the practical one, the *sādhanā*. In the *Upaniṣads* and ancient Sanskrit texts, we come across the terms like '*śāstra*' and '*sādhanā*'. By '*śāstras*' are meant the Vedas, Upaniṣads and other Vedāṅgas i. e. six systems of philosophy and a host of secular writing on science and art, whereas *sādhanā* means the spiritual practice that enables one to have a glimpse of the ever-effulgent transcendantal Reality. The *śāstras* act as guides and help the aspirants in their practices, by prescribing ways and means for attaining the highest truth. The *śāstras* are but the theoretical part of music, containing the laws, rules and regulations that go a great way towards facilitating the practice of music by man and ulitimately leading him to its highest ideal. In this sense, theory includes all branches of knowledge like literature, history, psychology, and philosophy of music, which colour and influence the practice of music in manifold ways.

Indian music is not merely a skelital structure of tones and their permutations and combinations, but is something more than that. It is spiritual in nature and breadth of vision, and though it is performed with the help of material tones and tunes, it breathes the supramental

atmosphere, and raises the common man, who comes under its spell, to the level of the superman. The *rāgas* of Indian music should be considered as living and dynamic. Their conception is not a superstition or make-belief one. During the 15th-16th century A. D., many intuitive poets visualised the forms of the *rāgas* in contemplation, and composed *dhyānamantrams* which inspired talented artists to give them their shape in colour and lines. They certainly bear the stamp of inner significance, and possess merit that help men to realise the intrinsic meaning and solemnity of the *rāgas*.

Besides, the *rāgas* should be studied in true historical perspective. History is a genuine record or chronicle of the events that happened in the past. If you focus the search-light of history at the *rāgas* of the Indian classical music, you will find that many of them have been adopted from the regional and tribal tunes of the Aryan and non-Aryan peoples of India. Some of them evolved as a result of the contact with foreign nations, while some were fashioned out of the materials resulting from the coalecence of the Indian and Persian elements. And this is quite natural. India always maintained a liberal and broad outlook. There were also many cultural and political contacts between India and different Western and Eastern countries, either through trade and commerce or through religious missions. Genuine evidences in this respect are not lacking. There are historical records of the Western savants like Megasthenes, Strabo, Plini, Ptolemy, Mcrindle, Herodotus and others, and Eastern travellers like Hiuen Tsang, Itsing, and others in its support. The Scythians or Sakas, Parthians, Persian, Greeks, Bactrians, Turks, Huns and others invaded India many a time, and many of them were

culturally and politically influenced by the ideas of India, and vice-versa.

From the history of Indian Music we again learn that though the ancient musicologists like Kohala, Yāṣtika, Durgāśakti, Mataṅga, Pārśvadeva and others were recognised as the staunch followers of Muni Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* fame, yet, when they found that the *gāndharva* type of the post-Vedic music gradually fell out of practice and became unpopular among the artists and lovers of music, they adopted a novel course in the process of Indian music, with a synthetic vision, and this act of renovation was not new in the annals of Indian music. Many of the regional and tribal tunes were formalised with the help of the *śāstric* ten essentials (*daśa-lakṣaṇas*), and they were christianed after the places of their origin and also after the tribes accordingly. As for instance, we find that the *rāgas* like *mālava*, *āndhrī*, *chevātti*, *gurjarī*, *kāmbojī*, *pulindikā*, *śāverī* or *śrāverī*. *bāṅgālī*, *ṭakka*, *kauśikī*, etc., were adopted from the current tunes of songs of those of the tribes of both Aryan and non-Aryan stocks. The *rāga boṭṭa* or *bhoṭṭa* was also a tribal tune of the *Bhoṭadeśa* or the Tibetan speaking peoples. Mataṅga has said that *rāgas* like *ṭakka*, (or *ṭaṅka* or *ṭaṅkī*), *sauvīra* (or *sauvīrī*) and *vesarā*, *boṭṭa* (or *bhoṭṭa*) originated from the treble clef or *madhyamagrāma* between the 3rd-5th century A. D. But it will be interesting to know as to how the *rāga boṭṭa* (or *bhoṭṭa*) came into being and was included within the fold of *rāga* of Indian music. We know that the Buddhist religious and cultural missions crossed many times the borders of India, and travelled far into the lands of Iran, Turkistan, China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China and different parts of the middle and East Asia, and even to the Western

countries, from Bengal (Gauḍa), Magadha, etc., through Kashmere, Tibet, Bhotan, Khotān, Samarkand, Yerekand, Sugda, Kutch, etc. From the Chinese chronicles we come to know that the Buddhist religious missions went to China several times through Central Asia and other places, early in the first century A.D. and that Indian culture, including music, both vocal and instrumental and dancing, were introduced in Kutch, Khotān, Samarkand, China and even in Persia and Arabia. In the eleventh century A.D., during the reign of the Pāla kings of Bengal, there was a close contact between India and Tibet. Tibet became a powerful kingdom during the reign of Sranga-tsaṅ Gampo, in the seventh century A.D. The Pāla kings helped a good deal towards the propagation of Buddhism in Tibet. The Tibetan monks used to visit the monastries like Nālandā, Vikramśilā and Odantapurī, etc. for studying different subjects including Buddhist scriptures. Atīśā Dīpaṅkara, a monk of Eastern Bengal, visited Tibet in the eleventh century A.D., during the reign of Nyāyapāla of the Pāla Dynasty. Hundreds of Sanskrit manuscripts were translated into Tibetan language, of which the famous Tāñjur and Kāñjur are worth-mentioning. Through the medium of trade and commerce, religion and culture Tibet and its adjacent countries were intimately connected with India, and in this way it became possible to incorporate the Tibetan tunes into Indian music.

The *rāga ṭakka*, *ṭaka* or *ṭaku*, afterwards modified to *taṅka* or *ṭaṅkī*, was also a tribal tune of the Ṭakka race of the Aṭ-ṭok country. It is said that before the advent of Lord Buddha, Ṭakka or Aṭ-ṭok was situated on the bank of the river Sind. Taxilā was one of their cultural centres. Dr. P. C. Bāgchi is of opinion that "the Ṭakkas who lived for some

time in the Northern Punjab around Siālkot were most probably of foreign origin". But the *rāga ṭakka* or *ṭaku* was included within the fold of the Aryan music. The ancient musicologists are of opinion that *ṭakka* is an ancient *rāga* like *mālava* and *hindola.* Kaśyapa, one of the ancient musicologists has assigned a high place to *ṭakka rāga*, and says that it is a very favourite *rāga* of Devī Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune: "*mukhya-gaḥ Lakśmī-prītikaratvāt*". It has already been said that *ṭakka* is known at present as *ṭaṅka* or *ṭaṅkī.*

Like *ṭakka*, *boṭṭa* or *bhoṭṭa rāga* is also a regional tune, adopted from the *Bhotadeśa.* In 306 A.D., Srang-tsaṅ-Gampo married Bhrukuti Devī, the daughter of the king of Nepāl, and was converted into Buddhism. He established political as well as cultural relations with Magadha and Gauḍa through Nepāl. But the *rāga boṭṭa* or *bhoṭṭa* was adopted into the Indian classical stock, long before Srang-tsaṅ-Gampo, along with other regional *rāgas*, *ṭakka, sauvira, mālava-pañcama, ṣaḍava, hindolaka, ṭakka-kauśika* and *mālava-kauśika.* In Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī*, written in the 5th-7th century A.D., these *rāgas* have been given honourable position of the *grāmarāgas*, evolved from the *jātirāgas* and their basic scales in the *ṣaḍjagrāma* and the *madhyamagrāma.* The above-mentioned *rāgas*, including *boṭṭa* or *bhoṭṭa*, were used in the *rāga-gītis* like *śuddhā*, *bhinnā*, etc.

Regarding the Tibetan *rāga boṭṭa* or *bhoṭṭa*, Mataṅga has said that it evolved from the primary clef or *ṣaḍjagrāma*; "*boṭṭa-rāgaśca ṣaḍjākhye*". While describing the Tibetan tune, he says:

Syāt ṣaḍja-madhyamā-jāteḥ pañcamaśca vinirgataḥ/
Boṭṭa-rāgaśca vijñeyaḥ pañcamāt so ('anta) madhyamaḥ//

The Tibetan tune *boṭṭa* manifests itself, by taking the four microtonal units from the fifth note, *pañcama*. Its initial (*graha*) and vital (*aṁśa*) notes are *pañcama*, and the final (*nyāsa*) note is *madhyama*. The use of *gāndhāra* or *niṣāda* is frequent. Then *niṣāda* is used as a sharp note. It is heptatonic (*sampūrṇa*) in form, and is connected with the sacred ceremonial function. Its emotional sentiments like *śānta*, etc. are used to make it graceful and lustrous. Śārṅgdeva has also followed Mataṅga. He says that the regional *rāga boṭṭa* was used in the sacred memory of the Lord Śiva, the divine consort of Bhavānī Gaurī, the daughter of the mountain Himālayas: "*utsavo viniyoktavyo bhavānīpati-vallabhaṃ*". Śārṅgdeva has composed a song for the *rāga* with notatian, and the Sanskrit-Bengali composition (*sāhitya*) of the song is strikingly similar to that of the mystic poet of Kenduvilva, Jayadeva. The composition of the song runs thus:

Pavana-vilulita bhrāmita madhukara
jalaja-reṇu-paripiñjarita/
Mada-mandagatī haṅsa-vadhūr-
vicarita vikaśita-kumuda-vane//

which means, the water of the sacred lake on the Himālayan mountain is almost covered with the full-blown water-lilies. The bees being swayed by the wind are humming sweetly, becoming intoxicated with their sweet fragrance, and are collecting honey, mixed with the drops of water. The swan-bride (*haṅsa vadhū*) is sporting in the forest of blooming water-lilies in measured majestic rhythm.

The people of the Bhoṭadeśa adopted Tāntricism like Buddhism sometimes after the 11th-12th century A. D. Ācārya Indrabhūti propagated the Tāntric Buddhism in

Bengal probably after the ideal of the Hindu Tāntricism already prevailing in India from ancient times. The Tāntricism of Tibet or Bhoṭadeśa may be an admixture of Hindu and Buddhist Tāntric cults. In Tantra and Purāṇa, the Lord Śiva has been given an exalted and venerable position, and perhaps being aware of it, Śārṅgdeva has connected this *rāga* of the mountains with Śiva, the presiding deity of the Himālayas.

The *rāgas*, *bhairava* and *bhairavī* were the ceremonial tunes of the aboriginal tribe, Bhiravā, who lived in the Himālayan valley with the tribes like Ābhīra, Śavara, Caṇḍāla, Pulinda, and others. Śāradātanaya has mentioned about them in his *Bhāvaprakāśana* in the 14th century A.D. They were non-Aryans. Probably between the 3rd to 11th century A. D., these two tunes were adopted into the Aryan stock, after rectifying them with ten essentials. We for the first time come to know about the *rāgas*, *bhairava* and *bhairavī*, mentioned in the *Saṅgītasamayasāra* (vide 3, 5, 17, 70) of Pārśvadeva of the 7th or 9th-11th century A. D. The *bhairava* is known at present as the foremost tune *ādi-rāga* (*"śubhrāmbaro jayati bhairava ādi-rāgaḥ"*). But from the historical point of view it is known that the first appearance of the *rāga bhairava*, together with *bhairavī* took place in the 9th-14th century A. D., and it was Pārśvadeva who has enunciated both the *ragās* in *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*. So it must be taken to mean that *bhairava* has been enumerated as the foremost *rāga* from the aesthetic viewpoint, and not from the historical one. The *rāga bhairava* evolved out of the *grāmarāga*, *bhinna-ṣaḍja*, which in its turn originated from the *jātirāga*, *ṣaḍja-udīcyavatī* (S R. II. 79-82). Bharata and Śāraṅgdeva have considered the *ṣaḍja-udīcyavatī* to be pentatonic, having its base in the middle clef or

madhyamagrāma. The *rāga*, *bhīnna-ṣaḍja* was pentatonic, *ṛṣabha* and *pañcama* being left out. The *bhinna-ṣaḍja* was considered as a sacred ceremonial *rāga*, and used to be sung on the occasion of the *sārvabhauma* ceremony ("*sārvabhaumotsave geyo*"). The *rāga bhairava* was also pentatonic, and breathed the same spirit, and created the same sacred atmosphere like the *bhinna-ṣaḍja* ("*prārthanāyāṁ sama-svaraḥ*").

The *rāga bhairavī* also evolved out of *bhinna-ṣaḍja*, and was the heptatonic (*pūrṇa*). The *bhairavī* was considered as sacred like the *bhairava*, and was practised on occasion of sacred ceremony or worship ('*devādi-prārthanāyāṃ tu bhairavī viniyujyate*'). Again it should be noted that according to Śārṅgdeva the *bhinna-ṣaḍja* was possessed of emotional units or aesthetic sentiments like *śānta*, *bībhatsa* and *bhayānaka*. Bharata is of opinion that the parent *rāga* (*jātirāga*), *ṣaḍja-udīcyavatī* possessed emotional sentiments of *śṛṅgāra* and *hāsya* (NŚ. 29. 1). We thus find that the emotional qualities of the *bhinna-ṣaḍja* were somewhat different from that of its causal *rāga*, and it is probable that in later days the *bhairava* and even the *bhairavī* came to be munifested with the common qualities of their causal and remote causal *rāgas*, i.e. they possessed *śānta* (in place of *śṛṅgāra* and *bhāyānaka*) and *karuṇa* (in place of *hāsya* and *bībhatsa*). Again it is a fact that the manifestations of emotional sentiments of both *bhairava* and *bhairavī* took some novel change in course of time, as we find that the emotive ingredients of *bhairava* and *bhairavī*, *bhayānaka* and *karuṇa* do not generate at all fear and compassion, rather they do help to generate serenity, calmness and peace, and thus bring about balance of mind, in accordance with the peaceful effect of *śṛṅgāra* or *śāntarasa*.

The *śaka rāga* was also a tribal tune of the Śakas or Scythians. The Śakas were displaced from their home in Central Asia by Yul-chi, and were forced to migrate to the South. They were also found to be settled in Southern Āfgānisthān, in the beginning of the Christian era, and the territoɹy they occupied, came to be known as the *Śakasthāna*, the modern Sistan. They were one of the groups of Pahlava, Pārthiān and Kushān. Some of the Śaka-Pahlava kings or *Kṣatrapas* used to rule in Kapiśa near Taxilā in the Western Punjab, and some at Mathurā and Upper Deccan. and at Ujjain in Mālwā. The Śakas or Scythians and Kushāns were the cultured peoples. Different kinds of arts and crafts came into being during their regime, and the remnants of their art and culture are to be found in the Indian Society. Dr. B. N. Dutta has said in the book, *Indian Art in Relation to Culture*: "That the art of the Scythian period was an innovation, and died out after the cessation of the Scythian rule, is not borne out by the latest investigation. There has been a continuity of culture and its tradition". The Śaka or Scythian *rāga* was divided into two main forms, *śaka-tilaka* and *śaka-miśrita*. It is now almost obsolete in the present society. However, the *śaka-rāga* has been associated with Śiva, the Lord of the universe ("*Śiva-priya*"—SR. 3. 62).

The *rāga toḍī* is called by its various names like *toḍikā*, *toddī tuḍī*, *tuṇḍī*, etc. *Toḍi or toḍikā* is the correct name. This *rāga* evolved from the 'pastoral tune' of the shepherds or farmers. Originally it was the pastoral tune of the Turkish people. When the Turks invaded India like other foreign tribes, they left their pastoral-cum-national tune to the Indian society, and so it is considered a foreign tune. Dr. B. N. Dutt observes in his book, *Indian*

Art in Relation to Culture: "It is the classical musical system of the heyday of Hindu culture that existed in the time of Vākāṭaka-Gupta period. So long it had been independent of foreign influence. Then came the Turkish invasion. North India was engulfed by it. And the Turkish Toḍī was introduced in the Indo-Aryan musical system".

Prof. O. C. Gangoly has mentioned that in Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, we get the line: "*samāsanna kinnarī-gīta-śravana rasamaṇa ruru visareṇa*', which means 'the deer were mad with joy when they heard the song of a Kinnarī (a young maiden) standing near by'. In the *Kathāsarita-sāgara*, the influence of music over the deer has been mentioned several times: '*sa tena gīta-śabdena śrutena harino yathā akṛṣṭaḥ*', etc. Hemcandra too has mentioned this fact in connection with Kunāla, the son of the Emperor Aśoka. He has said: '*Pāṭaliputra-nagare yatra yayau sa tu, tatra tatra yayuḥ paurāḥ gitākṛṣṭa kuraṅga-vat*'. During the mediaeval period, the hunters used to hunt the deer, humming a charming tune, which attarcted the deer. The historian Alberuni has described in his itinerary that he witnessed the hunters to entrap the deer with a perticular song, without using any weapon or trap. Prof. Gangoly has said that there is a beautiful allusion in the *Nāgānanda* of Śrī Harṣa, where Ātreya mentions that when the deer heard the charming tune of song or *veeṇā*, with closed eyes, the half-chewed green grasses fell down from their mouths. It is also on record that farmer maidens used to allure the deer by a peculiar charming tune, and thus they prevented to ravage their crops in the fields by the deer. The idea that the deer were susceptible to sweet tunes inspired the painters of the mediaeval India to paint

the picture of the *rāga toḍī*, depicting a herd of deer, and a young maiden, with a *veeṇā* in her hand.

Pārśvadeva (7th or 9th-11th century A.D.) has described *toḍī* as a *rāgāṅga-rāga*, and *turuṣka-toḍī* and *chāyā-toḍī* as the *upāṅga-rāgas*. The *turuṣka-toḍī*, according to Pārśvadeva, is heptatonic, having seven notes, and *chāyā-toḍī*, pentatonic, having five notes, *ṛṣava* and *pañcama* being left out (*varjita*). In the *Saṅgītamakranda*, *toḍi* has been relegated as a subordinate *rāga* of *pañcama*. Mammaṭācarya has called it the *janya-rāga* of *naṭa*. Someśvarācārya has called it the *aṅga-rāga* of *vasanta*. Śāraṅgdeva, following Pārśvadeva, has observed the note, *madhyama* as the intial (*graha*), the final (*nyāsa*) and the sonant (*aṁśa*). Paṇḍit Ahobala has called *todi*, i.e. *mārga-toḍī* as hexatonic (*ṣāḍava*), *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* being flat (*vikṛta* or *komala*), *madhyama* as the sonant (*aṁśa*), *ṣaḍja*, the final (*nyāsā*), and *dhaivata*, the initial (*graha*). It is manifested in the *pauravī-mūrcchanā* of the middle cleft (*madhyamgrāma*), which is known as 'dha ni ri ga ma pa—pa ma ga ri sa ni dha'. It is sung in the morning.

Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) considers *toḍī* as the *mela-rāga*, which is known by its tonal structure: sa ri ga (*sādhāraṇa*), ma pa dha ni (*kaiśika*). Lochana-Kavi (17th century A.D.) has given the description of the tonal form of *toḍi* which is similar to that of the *bhairavī mela*: sa *ri* ga ma pa *dha* ni; and from this it is understood that Lochana-Kavi admits *kāphī* as the standard pure scale (*śuddha-thāṭa*). Paṇḍit Dāmodara has described *toḍī* as evolving from the *sauvirī-mūrcchanā*, which is known by its tonal arrangements of ma pa dha ni sa ri ga—ga ri sa ni dha pa ma. The notes, *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* of the

ancient form of *toḍī* were flat (*komala*), and it was hexatonic (*ṣāḍava*).

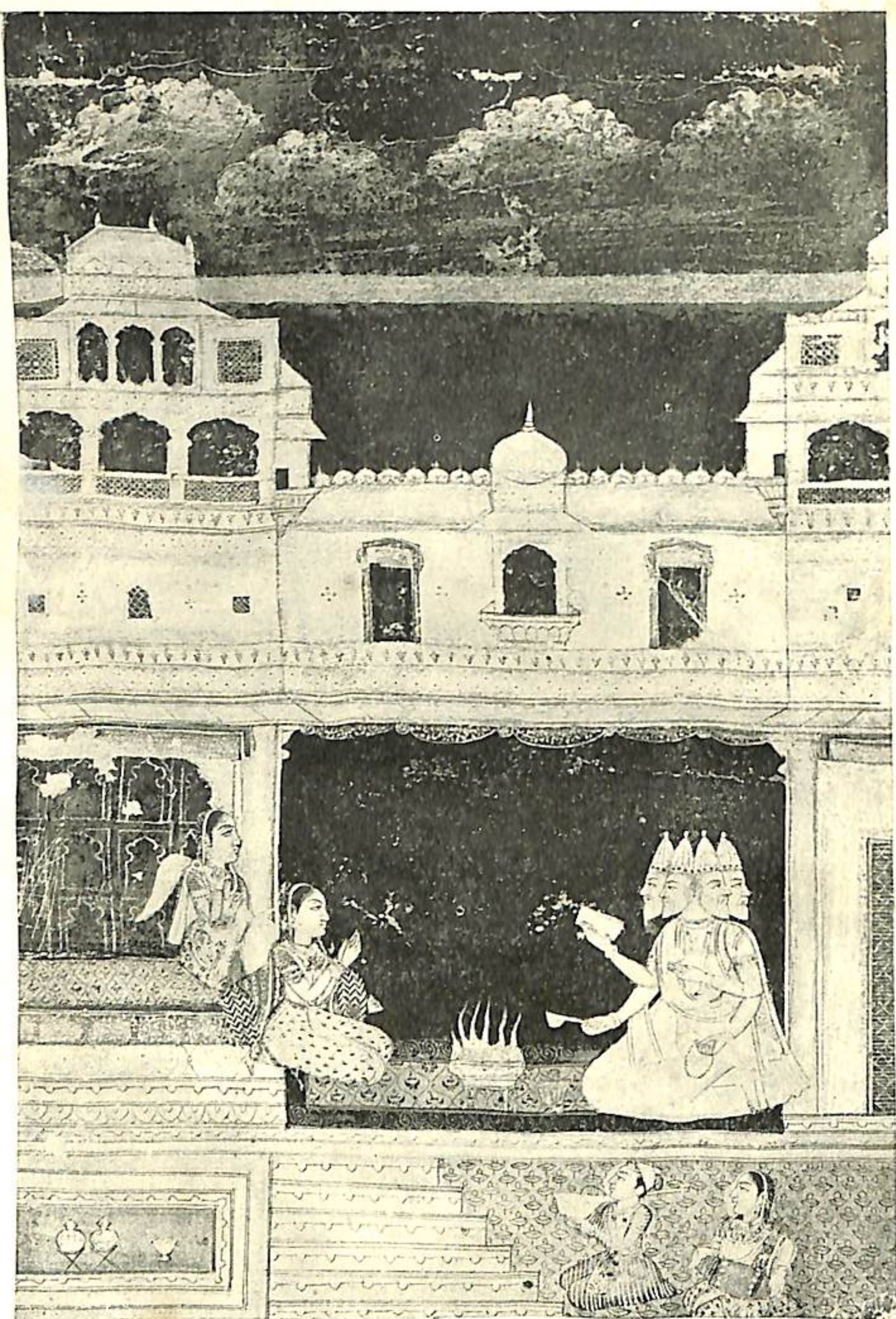
The tonal form of *toḍi* of the present Hindusthānī system is: sa *ri ga ma* pa *dha* ni—sa ni *dha* pa *ma ga ri* sa. It is included in the *toḍī-thāṭa*, and the sonant (*aṁśa* or *vāḍī*) is *dhaivata*, and the assonant (*anuvādi*) is *gāndhāra*. It tends to manifest towards the later part of the scale (*uttarāṅga-pradhāna*), and the tonality of the note, *gāndhāra* resembles that of *pīlu*.

In the 15th-16th century A.D., as has been said before, the inspired poets composed the *dhyānamantraṃ* of *toḍi*, and some competent painters drew its pictures in all grace and beauty, depicting a young maiden, with *veeṇā* in her hands, standing among a herd of deer, who stand enchanted with the sweet tune of the *veeṇā*. Rādhā Mohan Sen, a Bengalee musicologist has described *toḍī* as young maiden, who keeps vigil for her lover. She wears a white cloth, and is bedecked with precious ornaments. Her hair is glossy with oil and scented with camphor. She is sitting alone, and is playing on the *veeṇā*. But here the poet has lost sight of the real import of the *rāga toḍī* and, therefore, has painted her as a foppish lady.

Now, it may be asked whether there is any congruity between the contemplative composition (*dhyāna*) and the tonal composition (*svararūpa*) of the *rāga toḍī*. The tonal form of *toḍī*, prevailing in the present system of Hindusthānī music is: "sa *ri ga ma* pa *dha* ni sa—sa ni *dha* pa *ma ga ri* sa". Here the notes "ri ga ma dha" are displaced or flat (*komala*). But we find that the old tonal form of *toḍī*, as has been depicted even in Dāmodara's *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* of the sixteenth century A. D., is hexatonic, having the notes, *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* as displaced or flat. The South Indian



Raga *Todi* (the Pastoral Tune)
(*Turkish Influence*)
Rajasthani painting (Jaipur)
18th Century A.D.



Raga Khambaj (*Persian influence*)
18th Century A.D.

toḍī is also hexatonic in its form and has been depicted as: sa *ri ga* ma *dha ni*—sa *ni dha* ma *ga ri* sa", having the notes "ri ga dha ni" as displaced. Now, though we find different tonal forms of *toḍī* prevailing respectively in the North and the South Indian systems and different *dhyāna*-forms and exquisite paintings delineating the identical *toḍī rāga*, yet there can be discerned a fundamental unity underlying all *dhyānas* and paintings.

The theme of the contemplative composition (*dhyāna*) as well as the picture of the *toḍī rāga* has already been discussed in connection with the historical and aesthetic significance of the same. However different may be the tonal forms of the *toḍī rāga* as prevailing in the Northern and Southern systems in *dhyānas* and pictures, *toḍī* has been conceived and depicted as a fair young maiden, *veeṇā* in hand and pursued by a herd of deer, enchanted with the tune of the instrument. Therefore the real significance underlying the conception of the *toḍī rāga* is that while culturing it, the artist will get completely absorbed in the central theme and tune of the *rāga*, and become forgetful of the maiden tie of the contingent world that keeps one confined in the den of delusion. May the vivid example of the enchanted deer inspire the artists to pursue the art with unqualified devotion to make life blissful and divine on earth.

The *rāga naṭa* is a melody of the heroic sentiment. It has been conceived and designed for using in the battle-field to inspire the soldiers. Pārśvadeva has mentioned about this *rāga*, *naṭa*, *nāṭa* or *nāṭikā* in the *Saṅgīta-samaya-sāra* of the 7th or 9th-11th century A.D. This *rāga* is also known as *naṭi*, *nāṭi* *śuddha-naṭa*, etc. The sentiment and aesthetic mood (*rasa* and *bhāva*) of the *rāga naṭa* are differ-

ent from those of the *rāga*, *naṭanārāyaṇa*, which is known as the melody of rythmic dance. Paṇḍit Dāmodara of the 17th-18th century A. D. has described about the *dhyāna-mantram* and features of *naṭa-rāga* as:

Grahāṁśa-nyāsa ṣaḍja syāt saṁpūraṇa nāṭikā matā/
Turaṅgama-skandha-nibaddha-vāhuḥ/
Svarṇa-prabhaḥ śonita-śona-gātraḥ/
Saṁgrāma-bhumau vicaran pratāpī,
Naṭo'yaṃ uktaḥ kila rāga-mūrtiḥ/

That is, the hands of the *rāga*, *naṭa* or *nāṭikā* are placed upon the horse (ready for jumping upon the battle-field). The colour of the *rāga* is red like blood, and he (or she) shines like gold. He (or she) walks in the battle-field with a heroic look, and he (or she) seems to be an embodiment of rage or anger. A Hindi poet has also described the *rāga* in a beautiful way:

Chaḍi turaṅgama cheyo yāhā jaṅga,
Tāhā khamasāyaike khaḍge-vajavai,
Muṇḍa-kāti aru ruṇḍa-nāchāvai,
Jaru yogiṇī khappara śrona-purāvai,
Hāthime samasera dharai,
Sava veera ghatā sava veera jagāvai,
Iyā vidhi bhāva vakhāniye bhairuki,
Rāgiṇī nata yoka bhayānaka-rūpa lakhāvai/

From the description it is understood that some war-melodies were prevalent in mediaeval India, and the *rāga naṭa*, *nāṭa* or *nāṭikā* is one of them. This tune or melody was used both by civilized and aboriginal tribes of India.

Besides the *naṭa-rāga*, there were other *rāgas* or melodies of heroic sentiment (*veera-rasa*,) and they were specially meant for war. Among others, the names of *kalyāṇa* and

āḍānā can be mentioned in this connection. The contemplative description of the *kalyāṇa-rāga* is,

Kṛpāṇa-pāṇistilakaṃ lalāṭe,
suvarṇa-veśaḥ samare praviṣṭaḥ/
Pracaṇḍa-mūrtiḥ kila raktavarṇaḥ
kalyāṇa-rāgaḥ kathito munīndraiḥ//

The *kalyāṇa-rāga*, sword in his hand, is entering the battle-field. He is red, majestic and of golden complexion. Again the contemplative description of the *āḍānā-rāga* is,

Raṇe praviṣṭaḥ smaracāru-mūrtiḥ
veere-rase vyañjita roma-harṣaḥ/
Pāṇau kṛpāṇaḥ kila raktavarṇaḥ
āḍāṇa-rāgaḥ kathito munīndraiḥ//.

The *rāga, āḍānā* is entering the battle-field, with a sword in his hand. He is also of red complexion, and majestic.

Now Śārangdeva has described many *grāmarāgas* and *bhāṣārāgas* which were possessed of heroic sentiment, and they were: *bhinna-kaiśika-madhyama*, *śuddha-sādhārita*, *śuddha-kaiśika*, *gauḍa-kaiśika*, *śaka*, *bhaṣmāṇa-pañcama*, *rūpa-sādhāraṇa*, *ṣaḍja-kaiśika*, *takka*, *hindola*, *sauvīra*, etc., together with *bhāṣārāgas* like *pañcama*, *śrī*, *harsa*, *nāgadhvanī*, etc.

The *rāga kāmbojī*, *kāmbodhī*, *khāmbāj*, or *khāmāich* was the national tune of the people of Kāmbuja, Kāmboja, Cāmbodiā. The Chinese itinerant monk Houen Tsang has said that the people of Kāmboja were non-Aryans, and this fact has been corroborated by the *Bhuridatta-jātaka*. The Kāmbojians have been mentioned in the *Viṁśa-brāhmaṇa* of the Sāmaveda. Yāska has considered the language of the Kāmbojians as different from that of the

Aryans. Prof. Zimmer is of opinion that the Kāmbojians were closely related to the people who lived in the *Uttarāpatha* or North-Western Province of India. Prof. Grierson has spoken of the similarity between the Kāmbojians and the Indians. The term 'Kāmbojian' is also found in the ancient rock inscriptions of Persia. Dr. Lakṣmaṇa Sarūpa has observed that Yāska has classified the Aryans and the non-Aryans on the linguistic basis of spoken Sanskrit and Prākṛt, and he is of opinion that both the Kāmbojians and the people of the East used primary Sanskrit while the Aryans and the Northerners used provincial Prākṛt. This leads us to believe that though the Kāmbojians were a Sanskrit speaking people, yet they were not included within the Aryan clan, and as such the national tune of the Kāmbojians, Kāmbojī was originally known as the non-Aryan one. This view also finds support of Mataṅga in his *Bṛhaddeśī* and when it was included into the fold of the Indian classical music, it came to be regarded as an Aryan tune or *rāga*.

The *rāga baṅgāl* or *bāṅgāli* was a tribal i.e. national tune of Vaṅga or Bengal. The *rāga*, *gauḍa* or *gauḍī* also evolved from Bengal, just as the literary style of *gauḍī* (*gauḍīrīti*) evolved from Bengal. Gauḍa was once the capital of the Greater Bengal. The term 'Vaṅga' is to be found in the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*, 2. 1. 1., along with the names of Bagadh, Chera and other birds. Bagadh is another name for Magadha. With regard to the term 'bird', Dr. Pushalkar has said that probably it signifies that the people were of non-Aryan stock, and so the languages they spoke, were not intelligible to the Aryans. The name Aṅga along with Vaṅga occurs in the *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra*, *Mahābhārata* and other epics and literature. Prof. Olden-

berg has called the peoples of Aṅga and Vaṅga as the ancient Aryans, but Dr. Pushalkar does not support this view. So it is a matter for investigation whether the *rāga baṅgāl* or *bāṅgālī* of the *Vaṅgadeśa* is of the Aryan or non-Aryan origin.

The *rāga gāndhāra* or *gāndhārī* was a tune of the Gāndhāradeśa, modern Kāndāhāra. It has been said in the Epics that the music-loving semi-divine Gandharvas were the inhabitants of Gāndhāra. The North-Western Province of India once came under the influence of culture and civilization of ancient Greece, and Gāndhāra too came within their orbit. But most of the historians are of opinion that the races like Gāndhāra, Śavara, Niṣāda, Pulinda, and others were not really included in the Aryan group, and so the *rāga gāndhāra* or *gāndhārī* may be regarded as non-Aryan in its origin.

The ancient *rāga pulinda* or *pulindikā* was a tribal tune of the Pulindas. The Pulindas have been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. They are also mentioned along with the Andhras in the Aśokan inscriptions. The capital of the Pulindas was called the 'Pulinda-nagara'. Probably the Pulinda-nagara was situated to the south-east of Darśāṇā or Vidiśā, modern Bhilsā. Again Darśāṇā was the former name of Rupanāth, where Aśoka's pillar was found, and this Darśāṇā and its adjacent areas were really the seat of culture of the Pulindas. The *rāga pulinda* or *pulindikā* was, therefore, a tune of the non-Aryan people, having a developed culture.

The *rāgas*, *āndhrī*, *śavarī* or *śāverī* or *śrāverī* and *ābhīrī* were also the tribal tunes of the Andhras, Śavaras and Ābhīras. The historians are of opinion that the Andhras, the Śavaras and the Ābhīras were partly under the Aryan

influence and partly under the non-Aryan. In the Brāhmaṇic literature, they were known as the *dasyus* or robbers. The Andhras lived in the area between the rivers Krisṇā and Godāvari. Dr. H. C. Roychoudhury is of opinion that the Śavaras were a branch of the Śaura races of the hill tracts of Vizāgāpattam. The historian Plini has mentioned a race '*Suyeri*' by name. The Śavaras had their abode in Gwālior and even in the border of Orissā and Vindhyān forest. They were non-Aryans, and so the *rāga śāverī* or *śrāverī* can be regarded as the non-Aryan tune of the Śavaras. The Ābhīras being the most important of the succeeding powers in the Deccan like the Vākāṭakas, Palhavas and Kadambas, the tribal tunes *āndhrī* and *ābhirī* of the Andhras and Ābhīras can similarly be regarded as the non-Aryan tunes, though afterwards they were included within the fold of Indian classical music.

The *rāga gurjarī* is also known as a foreign tune, as it was adopted from the Gurjara-deśa. The Gurjaras entered India long after the Śakas or Scythians, Yavanas, Bahlīkas and Palhavas. Some are of opinion that the Gurjaras were a nomadic pastoral tribe, who lived in the Central Asian desert. They entered Āryāvarta by the North-West border of India. In the 7th century A.D., the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang has also mentioned about the Gurjaras. Some say that as the *rāga* was prevalent among the Gurjaras, it was known as *gurjarī*: "*gurjarīya-deśa-pracārāt gurjarī*", Nānyadeva, the king of Mithilā mentions *gurjarī* as a regional tune: "*deśākhyā dākṣinātyā ca saurāṣṭrī gurjarī tathā*". Yāṣtika takes *gurjarī* as a subordinate tune (*janya-rāga*) of *ṭakka*, and according to some, it is a subordinate one of *mālava-kauśika*.

The *rāga kānaḍā* or *kānāḍā* was formerly a tune of ele-

phant-hunting in the Karnāta-deśa. Prof. Gangoly has given a graphic description of the *rāga karṇāṭa* in his illumiuating article on the secret of the names of the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*. He has said that ancient Karṇāṭa-deśa was famous for hunting of the elephants. The king of the country, accompanied by soldiers, attendants, and singers was accustomed to hunting, and it was a common custom of the royal family of the period. It is said that a peculiar tune used to be sung when the elephant was killed, and while its tusks were presented to the king as a token of his triumphant hunting. That tune used to signify two things, one, the pathetic sound of the last breath of the dying elephant, and the other, a sound of extreme joy of victory in hunting. In the contemplative composition (*dhyānamantrams*) of *kānaḍā*, as depicted in the *Sāṅgītadarpaṇa* of Dāmodara, we find the following description (one of the readings):

Kṛpāṇa-pāṇiḥ gaja-danta-khaṇḍaṃ
ekaṃ vahan dakṣiṇa-hastakena/
Saṁstūyamānāḥ sura-cāraṇaughaiḥ
karṇāta-rāgaḥ kṣitipāla-mūrtiḥ//

Thus the *rāga kānaḍā* or *karṇāṭa* may be said to be a 'hunting melody'. But, afterwards when the Karṇāṭa-deśa came under the influence of Vaiṣṇavism in the mediaeval time, the hero of the hunting, i.e. king came to be conceived as Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and the story of slaying of the Gajāsura was interpolated in the factual episode of elephant hunting. The result was that the hunting tune came to be associated with the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in a mutilated form as kāṇa and karaṇa, and lastly *kānaḍā*, though the real name of *kānaḍā* is *karṇāṭa*, which commemorates the regional tune of the Karṇāṭa-deśa. But whether the people of Karṇāṭa-

deśa were Aryan or non-Aryan, that question requires to be resolved. Besides, we find the *rāgas*, *āndhrī*, *sāverī* or *śrāverī*, *pulindikā*, *mahārāṣṭrī*, *mālava*, etc., which evolved out of the regional and national tunes of those tribes. Mataṅga has given full description of those tunes, and they were adopted in the stock of the Indian classical music, either during his time or prior to him.

The Persian tunes also received honourable position in the domain of Indian music. As for example, though Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala has called *bijej* or *bijjej* as '*parada*' or '*paradatta*', i.e. of foreign gift, yet he has included it in the *āśāvarī* scale, and has said in the *Rāgamañjarī*: "*deśikāra vākharejaḥ āśāvaryām bijejakaḥ*" (*bejujjika*?). He has further mentioned fifteen foreign *rāgas* in his *Rāgamañjari*, including *nisāvara*. It is said that the *rāga nisāvara* was devised by Emperor Akbar. Similarly Lochana-kavi has mentioned in the *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* that the foreign *rāga phirdosta* evolved out of the combination of *varāṭī*, *bāṅgālī* and *vibhāsa*. In this connection, the names of the following tribal and regional, tunes or *rāgas* are also worth-mentioning. They are: *mhārāṣṭra-gurjarī*, *dakṣiṇa-gurjarī*, *kāmodasiṁhala*, *dākṣiṇātya*, *karnāṭa-gauḍa*, *drāviḍa-gauḍa*, *saurāsṭrī*, *dvitīya-saurāsṭrī*, *drāviḍī*, *māngalī*, *kālindī*, etc. Besides them, there are other regional *rāgas* like *varāṭī* and its variants, and *pañcamī*, *saindhavī*, *gauḍi*, etc. The *rāgās* like *tumburu*, *poṭa* (*poṭṭa*), *dhvani*, *kandarpa*, *kolhāsa*, *raktahaṁsa*, *kokila-pañcama*, *kiraṇāvalī*, *veghavatī*, *nadyā*, *paurālī*, *kacchalī*, *mādhurī khañjanī*, *kauśalī*, *dohyā*, *tānā*, *ravicandrikā*, *śālavahanī*, etc. are also of the mixed elements, and they evolved during the renaissance period. The *rāga hārmaṇa* or *hammāṇa* seems to be of foreign tune (*rāga*), which was taken from the national tune of the Armenians. I would like to quote the lines from

Dr. Bāgchi's article: *On the Diffusions of Indian Music in Ancient Times*, in this connection. He has said: "The other name, *Harmāṇa* seems to be of great interest. Mataṅga mentions it only once as *Harmāṇa* (p. 84) but in another place as *Bhammāṇa* (p. 100). The *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* mentions it as *Bhammāṇī* (p. 225), but as the author of this work did not live before the 13th centuay A. D. he was simply reproducing mistakes of his predecessors. It seems that *Harmāṇa* (Prākṛt *Hammāṇa*) was the correct form of the name and *Bharmāṇa* came to bh. in Indian script. Even *Harmāṇa* is unknown, but it is not quite unreasonable to suggest a connection of this name with the ancient name of Armania—*Arminā*. The Armenians like the Iranians of Central Asia were famous in the world of trade and were as such the intermediaries through which many traits of culture were carried to other countries".

Paṇḍit Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala has said in the *Rāgamañjarī*:

> Anye 'pi pārasīkeyā rāgāḥ parada nāmakāḥ/
> Saṁpūrṇāḥ sarva-gamakāḥ kākalyantaritāḥ sadā//
> rahāyī devagāndhāre kānare ca niśāvaraḥ/
> Sārañge māhuro nāma jangulā'tha vaṅgālake//
> Deśyāmahaṁgame nāma vārā mallāra nāmake/
> Kedāre'pi bhavet sūhā dhanāsyāṃ ca irāyikā/
> Jijārantyāṃ ca hausenī mālave mṛsalīkakaḥ//
> Kalyāṇe imanī gāyet sapardā'tha vilāvale/
> Deśikāre vākharejaḥ āsāvaryāṃ hijejakaḥ/
> Devagiryāṃ mūsakākhya evamanye'pi yojayet//

From this statement it is understood that many foreign melodies were taken in the stock of classical Indian music.

Similarly Paṇḍit Somanāth (1906 A. D.) has said in the same manner in the *Rāgavibodha*:

"Iyaṃ turuṣka-toḍi irākha-paryāyātayā karṇāṭa-gauḍasya samacchāyatvena pardāiti loke / Tathāca kaeścttattad-rāga samacchāyāḥ paradākyā dvādaśa rāgā ucyante / Toḍayāḥ samṛddhyā husenī / Bhairavasya jhulusaḥ rāmakṛyāyāḥ mūsalī / Āsāvaryā ujjalaḥ / Vihaṅga-ḍasya navarojaḥ / Deśakārasya vākharejaḥ / Saindha-vyā hijejaḥ / Kalyāṇa yamanasya pañcagrahaḥ / Devakṛyāḥ puskaḥ / Velāvalyāḥ sarapardaḥ / Karṇā-ṭasya irākhaḥ / Anyoparāgānāṃ sugā durgā iti" /

Paṇḍit Bhāvabhaṭṭa has also mentioned about the changing phases of the *rāgas*. He has said that lots of foreign melodies (*rāgas*) were mixed with Indian ones. He has further mentioned in the *Anūpa-saṅgīta-ratnākara* and the *Anūpa-saṅgita-vilāsa* that many of the foreign melodies were taken into the stock of the classical Indian music. But it should be noted that Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala, Paṇḍit Somanāth and Paṇḍit Bhāvabhaṭṭa have only compared the foreign melodies or tunes with their Indian equivalents, instead of enumerating the Persian or other foreign melodies or tunes. Paṇḍit Viṣṇu-nārāyaṇa Bhāṭkhaṇḍe has clearly mentioned the changes in melodies in one of his articles, *Modern Hindusthānī Rāga-System and the Simplest Method of Studying the Same*, which was read before the "Fourth All-India Music Conference", held at Lucknow in 1925. He has accepted the method of admixture of the foreign melodies with those of the Indian system. He has said: "Thus our present Hindusthānī music is our ancient music as it has been modified in the course of centuries by contact with foreigners, and by incorporation of foreign methods of expression and foreign melody-types".

Now it is found that the musicologists and the historians have traced back to the sources of origin of some of *rāgas* and their real significances as well. Though they have considered them as different structures of notes or tones, surcharged with emotional sentiments and moods, yet they believe that the *rāgas* of India are full of spirit, and transcend the limitations of names and forms, and shine supreme in undying glory and exquisite beauty. They also consider the *rāgas* as the means to a supreme end. The poets of the 16th-17th century have composed the contemplative compositions (*dhyānamantrams*) and the intuitive painters have drawn colourful pictures for helping in the ways of concentration and meditation upon the divine forms (*devemaya rūpa*) of the *rāgas*, for spiritual illumination and upliftment. The *jātirāgas*, as depicted in the Great Epics like the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhāratā* and *Harivaṁśa* (400-200 B. C.), evolved out of the sacred remnants of the Vedic music, *sāmagāna*, and so they contained within them the sacred spirit and solemn ideal of the Vedic music. We know from the history of Indian music that from the *jātirāgas* evolved the *grāmarāgas*, and from the latter, different *bhāṣārāgas*, having in them the identical ideal and spirit. Intermingling and fusion of art and culture among different nations and different countries are inevitable in all ages, and the process undoubtedly enriches the domain of art and culture.

Again it may be remembered that India always maintains with her a broad outlook and synthetic vision. This has been maintained throughout the ages,—from the Vedic period down to the present time. She is prone to embrace and include all that comes unto her in the shape of wisdom and culture, and thus enriches her own priceless treasure of

art and literature, religion and philosophy. The tunes of the songs of the non-Aryan and the aboriginal tribes of India and even of countries beyond its pale, were all absorbed and included within the fold of her system of music, and some more notes were probably added unto them to make them suitable for and worthy of the *rāga* forms. Matanga (5th-7th century A. D.) has said in his *Bṛhaddeśī* that songs with four or less than four notes should not be considered as the *mārga* (or *gāndharva*) type of music—"*catuḥ svarāt prabhṛti no mārgaḥ*," and it is probable that when the tunes of the aboriginal peoples with lesser notes were adopted into the system of formalised *deśī* music, they were reformed (*saṁskṛta*) and moulded into some new and novel forms. So far as the history of Indian music is concerned, this work of reformation commenced just after the time of Muni Bharata of the 2nd century A. D., i. e. during the 3rd-5th century A. D., and Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Durgāśakti, Mataṅga and others had their hands in this task of rectification-cum-adaptation. It is, therefore, the fact that both Aryan and non-Aryan elements of music helped to build the grand architecture of Indian classical music. The period of intermixture of the elements of different systems of music may be considered as the dawn of renaissance, and this renaissance took place in India several times, and ushered forth an era of new life and vigour into the whole system of Indian music.

APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER VIII

Some of the regional *rāgas*, mentioned by Mataṅga in the *Bṛhaddeśī*:

(क) भाषा चतुर्विधा प्रोक्ता मूलसंकीर्णदेशजाः ।
छायामात्राश्रयाः प्रोक्ता ग्रामरागे व्यवस्थिताः ॥

कश्यप उवाच—

कीदृशी तु भवेद् भाषा संकीर्णा देशजातरे(?) ।
छायामात्रानुगाः प्रोक्ता ग्रहांशन्याससंयुताः ॥

याष्टिक उवाच—

ग्रामरागोद्भवा भाषा भाषाभ्यश्च विभाषिकाः ।
विभाषाभ्यश्च सञ्जातास्तथा चान्तरभाषिकाः ॥

—बृहद्देशी, भाषालक्षणम् , ३६५

(ख) 1. देशभाषात्र विख्याता गुर्जरी परमोज्ज्वला ।
2. सौराष्ट्रिका तु भाषेयं देशाख्या गीयते जनैः ।
3. देशभाषा तु देशाख्या सैन्धवी टक्करागजा ।
4. * सम्पूर्णस्वरा ज्ञेया पौरालीदेशसम्भवा ।
5. साधारणकृता ह्येषा देशाख्या हर्षपुरिता ।
6. सवन्धुविषयसम्भूता देशाख्यां सैन्धवी विदुः ।
7. धैवताद्यन्तरसंयुक्ता काम्बोजा पूर्णसुस्वरा ।

* * *

एषा भाषा तु देशाख्या प्रथमा ककुभोद्भवा ॥
8. पूर्णपञ्चमजा ह्येषा आभीरीदेशसम्भवा ।
9. साधारणकृता ह्येषा लावणीदेशसम्भवा !
10. वङ्गालदेशसम्भूता वङ्गाली दिव्यरूपिणी ।
11. द्राविडविषये ह्येषा देशाख्या सुमनोहरा ।

12. माङ्गाली पञ्चमान्ता च धैवतांश प्रकीर्तिता ।

* * *

संकीर्णा च मता नित्यं ज्ञेया वैदेशसम्भवा ॥

—बृहद्देशी, भाषालक्षणम्

Besides them, Matanga has mentioned the names of numerous regional (*deśaja*) *rāgas*. Now, from them it can be shown that most of the *ragās*, which were included in the *saṁkīrṇa*, *bhāṣā*, *sādhāraṇa* and *chāyā* categories, were known as regional ones. The regional *rāgas* evolved either from the countries or nations (*deśaja* or *jātija*). And we find that most of the *bhāṣā* or *chāyā* (mixed) *rāgas* (melodies or tunes) were either of Aryan or non-Aryan origin.

CHAPTER IX

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF DHRUVAPADA

I

It is a common belief that *dhrupada* or *dhruvapada* type of *nibaddha prabandha-gīti* originated in the State of Gwālior, and that it was Rājā Mān Singh Tomar, its Ruler, who was the first to devise and introduce it to the music enthusiasts during the 15th century A.D. This belief was specially maintained by the English scholars like Captain Williard, Sir William Jones, Dr. Griffiths, Sir Ousley and others, and also by some of the Indian musicologists, who followed them. To cite an example, Capt. Williard, in his book, *A Treatise on Music of Hindoostān*, has mentioned: "Most renowned of the Nāyuks have been Gopāl, a native of the Dekhun i.e. Deccan, who flourished during the reign of Sooltān Ulā-ood-deen and his contemporary Ummer Khosrow of Delhi ; Sooltān Hoosan Shruque of Jaunpoor, Rājā Mān * * * of Gwālior, founder of the Dhoorpud", etc. (p. 107). Again, some are of opinion that *dhruvapada* evolved from the regional folk songs of Gwālior and its adjacent places, and they argue that both *dhruvapada* and regional folk songs of Gwālior were similar in nature, and their methods of presentation were also the same, being devoid of *tānas*, etc. But these sorts of opinion or argument are conjectural ones, wanting in logical sequence and history.

In the *Āin-i Ākabari* of Ābul Fazl-i-Āllāmi, it has been stated that *dhruvapada* was a kind of *deśī* (regional)

song which was much in vogue in Agrā, Gwālior, Bāri and their adjacent places. Ābul Fazl has also stated: "When Mān Singh (Tanwār) ruled as Rājā of Gwālior, with the assistance of Nāyak Bakshu, Macchu and Bhānu, who were the most distinguished musicians of their day, he introduced a popular style of melody which was approved even by the most refined taste. On his death, Bakshu and Machhu passed into the service of Sultān Māhumud of Gujrāt, where his new style came into universal favour". Further he has stated: "In the Dekhān, these songs are expressed in their language by the term Chind (*chanda = chanda-prabandha*), which consist of three or four lines, and chiefly laudatory. In the Tilaṅga and Carnātic dialects, they are called *dhruva*, and their subject is erotic. Those of Bengal are called *baṅgāla*, and those of Jounpur, *chutkala*, while the songs of Delhi are called *kaul* and *tārānā* (?). These last were introduced by Āmīr Khusrau of Delhi in concert with Samit and Tātār, and by combining the several styles of Persia and India, form a delightful variety. The songs of Mathurā are called Bishn-pad (*viṣṇupada*) consisting of four, six and eight lines, sung in honour of Viṣṇu. Those of Sind are styled Lāhchārī, and are the composition of Biddyapat and in character highly erotic. In Lāhore and the adjacent parts, they are called *chand*; those of Gujrāt, *jakri*".

Perhaps this statement of Ābul Fazl is based on mere legends and second-hand information, and it is also true that he was neither a musician nor an accomplished musicologist. Moreover, it is a fact that during the time of Rājā Mān of Gwālior (15th century A.D.), the *dhruva-pada* type of *prabandha* took a new shape and novel course, but it is equally certain that it was not invented but only

revived and rejuvenated by Rājā Mān, who, assisted by Hindu and Muslim musicians of outstanding merit, established a Gwālior school of music. Dr. Jadunāth Sarkār has supported this statement when he says: "After Rājā Mān, the renowned dhrupadīyā, Bakshu continued his service at the court of Vikramjit, the son of Mān Singh, and after his death, entered the service of Rājā Kirāt of Kalinjar, whence he was invited to the court of Gujrāt". The historian Bayley has also stated in his *History of Gujrāt* that "a minstrel, called Bacchu (i.e. Bakshu) attached to Sultān Bāhādur's court, who was taken before Humāyun on the capture of Māṇḍu in 1535". From all these records we come to the finding that the culture of the *dhruvapada-prabandha*[1] was prevalent during the Mughal period.

Now, let us trace the factual origin and growth of the *dhruvapada*, and find out whether it falls within the category of classical group of the *prabandha-gīti*, or merely under the *deśī* type or regional one, and this requires to be investigated from both the textual as well as historical points of view. In the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, Śāraṅgdeva defines '*gītaṃ*' as a combination of notes or tones, having the propensities of tinging i. e. producing sweet and pleasing impressions (*saṁskāras*) in the minds of all living beings as well as divides the *gītaṃ* (song) into two main classes, *gāndharvaṃ* and *gānaṃ*. By '*gānaṃ*' he means the '*deśī gānaṃ*' or regional songs or tunes, composed by the experts of different parts of different countries.

The songs (*gānaṃ*) were again distinct from the *gāndharvaṃ* (*gāndharva* type of *gīti*), traditionally handed down from the masters to the pupils. According to Bharata,

the *gāndharvaṃ* was composed of *svara, tāla* and *pada*; "*svara tāla-padāśrayaṃ*". Bharata has said,

Yattu tantrīkṛtaṃ proktaṃ nānātodya-samāśrayaṃ/
Gāndharvamiti tajjñeyaṃ svara-tāla-padāśrayaṃ//

This type of *gāna, gāndharva* was pleasing both to the gods and the semi-divine Gandharvas. Bharata has specifically explained the inherent characteristics of *svara, tāla* and *pada*, and from his description it becomes apparent that the *jātis* (*jātirāgas*), together with the *grāmarāgas* and other constituent *rāgas*, were known as '*gāndharva*'.

The *gāndharva* was also known as '*mārga*', which means 'chased after' ('*anviṣṭaṃ*') or as one constituted out of the collected materials of the Vedic songs. Bharata's description about the *gāndharva* is corroborated by both Kallinātha and Veṅkaṭamakhī. While commenting on the term '*gānaṃ*', Kallinātha has defined it as '*deśī-gānaṃ*', and it was composed by the *Vāggeyakāras* or composers and as such it was sung according to their sweet will ("*sva-buddhyā gīyate*"). But, according to Śāraṅgdeva, *deśī-gāna* means the *prabandha*.

Now, what is meant by the term '*prabandha*'? It means the *gīti* or song, systematically 'bound up' (*nibaddha*), comprising the music-parts (*dhātus*) like *udgrāhaka, melāpaka, dhruva, antara* or *antarā*, and *ābhoga*; and limbs (*aṅgas*) like *svara, viruda, pada, tenaka, pāta* and *tāla*; *jātis* like *ānandinī, medinī, dīpanī, bhāvanī* and *tārāvalī* ("*prakṛṣṭo yasya bandhaḥ syāt sa prabandho nigadyate*"). Therefore, '*prabandha*' means the systematic and organised classical type of song (*gīti*). Siṁhabhupāla has also defined the *prabandha* in his commentary, *Sudhākara* in a beautiful way.

It has been said before that the *prabandha-gīti* was possessed of different *dhātus*, *aṅgas*, *jātis* and *rasas* or aesthetic sentiments. Now, what was meant by the terms *dhātu*, *aṅga* and *jāti*? A *dhātu* was conceived as a music-part or *aṁśa*, implying a division of a *gīti* or song. The first part of a *prabandha* went by the name of *udgrāhaka*, meaning opening or commencing. This is an ancient name, but in the present Hindusthānī system of music, it is known as *sthāyī*, i.e. a place where a *gīti* or song rests upon and commences to manifest itself. *Melāpaka* is the ancient name of the second part, and in it the *prabandha* used to fully manifest itself, keeping harmony with the first part. According to Rājā Raghunāth Nāyaka of Tānjore, the function of the *melāpaka* was to bring about a unity between the first music-part, *udgrāhaka* and the third one, *dhruva*. The *dhruvapada-prabandha* used to sprout forth as it were, in the first part and then manifests in full bloom in the second part. The name of the second part, *melāpaka* is now known as *antarā*. The *antarā* or *antara* rests in between the first part and the third part. In fact, the music-parts are regarded as different parts or centres of manifestation of the *prabandha*, and all the parts, when bound up or taken together, form the complete structure of a *prabandha*, in conjunction with the *rāga*. An *aṅga* (limb) conceived to be the essential feature of a *prabandha*. It is of six kinds,

(a) *svara* or note like *ṣaḍja*, etc. with their respective pitches;

(b) *viruda* or panegyric like 'they are my God,' etc. Pārśvadeva, Rājā Raghunāth Nāyaka and others are of opinion that the word '*viruda*' means antagonism and that this meaning was current in the

country like Mahārāṣṭra (vide *Saṅgītasudhā*, IV. 54-55). As *viruda* connotes the idea of valour or prowess and thereby symbolize *veera-rasa*, so the limb, *viruda* is taken to create an atmosphere of valour and freedom in a *prabandha gīti* like *dhruvapada*, etc.;

(c) a *pada* means a name of its object;

(d) a *tenaka* means a cadence of note on a sacred symbolic standard as tena, na, te, etc;

(e) a *pāta* uses to be a continuous limitation of sounds, proceeding from percussion instruments;

(f) a *tāla*, is a rhythm, expressed by beats at equal intervals.

Again a genus (*jāti*) is divided into five sections, and they are:

(a) *medinī* which mean a *prabandha*, possessing six limbs;

(b) *ānandinī* which means a *prabandha*, having five limbs;

(c) *dīpanī*, which means a *prabandha*, possessing four limbs;

(d) *bhāvanī*, which means a *prabandha*, made of three limbs,

(e) *tārāvalī*, i. e., a *prabandha*, which is possessed of only two limbs.

So we see that the name of the genus or *jāti* differs according to the number of its limb or *aṅga*.

A *dhruva-prabandha* or *dhruvapada* was divided in ancient times into *aniryukta* or *anibaddha* and *niryukta* or *nibaddha*. The *aniryukta* or *anibaddha* type of *dhruva-*

pada-prabandha was not governed by the rigid rules of time-measures or *mātrās*. etc., and it was known as *ālāpa*. And from this it is understood that though *dhruvapada* used to be sung even in slow tempo (*vilamvita laya*), yet *ālāpa* or elaboration of the tonal forms was mandatory. The *niryukta* or *nibaddha* type of *dhruvapada-prabandha* was bound up with metres, time-measures, and other rules. The *nibaddha-prabandhas* used to be recognised by three different connotations (*sañjñās*) like *prabandha*, *vastu* and *rūpaka*.

Numerous *prabandha-gītis* were prevalent in ancient times, and they were *sūḍa*, *āli* or *āli-saṁśraya* and *viprakārṇa*. The *dhruva-prabandha-gītis* were and even to this day are included in the category of *sūḍa* i.e. *sālaga-sūḍa-prabandha*: '*dhruvādi sālaga mataḥ*' (SR, 4.311). Śāraṅgdeva has divided the *sūḍa-prabandha* into two, pure and mixed (*śuddha* and *sālaga* or *chāyālaga*).

Now, what were the *śuddha-sūḍa prabandhas* ? The *śuddha-sūḍa prabandhas* were the *jātis* or *jātirāgas*, *brahmagītis*, like *kapāla* and *kambala*, together with the *grāmarāgas*, *uparāgas*, *bhāṣārāgas*, *vibhāṣā-rāgas* and *antara-bhāsā-rāgas* and the *prakaraṇa-gītis* like *madraka*, *aparāntaka*, *ullopya*, *prakarī*, *obenaka*, *robindaka* and *uttara* plus the *gītis* like *chandaka*, *āsārita*, *vardhamāna*, *pāṇika*, *ṛca*, *gāthā* and *sāma*. Śāraṅgdeva says: "*jātyad-yantara-bhāṣāntaṃ śuddhaṃ prakaraṇānvitaṃ*", whereas the commentator Siṁhabhupāla has only said: "*śruti-prakaraṇa-mārabhya-antarabhāṣā-paryantaṃ*", Rājā Raghunāth Nāyaka of Tānjore has also described the *sālaga-sūḍa-dhruva* in the same way (vide *Saṅgītaśudhā*, IV, pp. 800-809).

Now it is clear that the *gāndharva* or *mārga* type of *gītis* was known as *prabandhas*, and it has been

confirmed by both Bharata (2nd century A.D.) and Śāraṅgdeva (early 13th century A.D.) The observation of Bharata, regarding the *nāṭyagīti, dhruvā*, may be cited in this connection. Bharata has said,

> Ya ṛcaḥ pāṇikā gāthā sapta-rūpāṅgameva ca/
> Sapta-rūpa-pramāṇaṃ hi sā dhruvetyabhisañjñitā//
> —*Nāṭyaśāstra*, NS. 32.2.

Śāraṅgdeva has stated in the *Saṅgīta-Ratmākara*: "*elādiḥ śuddha*", etc., and thus it is found that both Bharata and Śāraṅgdeva have defined the *gāndharva* and *brahma-gītis* in the term of *prabandha-gītis*.

Bharata has also divided the *dhruvās* into two classes, *nibaddha* and *anibaddha*, and their definitions differ from those of the regional or *deśī prabandhas* to some extent. The commentator, Siṁhabhupāla has mentioned about them in connection with *elā* and other *prabandhas*. He has said: "*nanu bharatena elādīnāṃ chāyālagatvaṃ uktaṃ, tat kathaṃ śuddhatvaṃ uchyate, tatrāha-chāyālagatvamiti*". From this it is understood that Bharata has dealt with the *prabandha* type of classical *gītis* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. While describing sixty-four *dhruvās*, he has said that the *dhruvās* were composed of different letters ('*sama-vṛttākṣara-kṛtaḥ*'), *dhātus* and *aṅgas* lik *svara, viruda, tenaka, pāṭa, pada*, and *tāla*, etc., Therefore, it is found that the *dhruvās* were recognised as the *gāndharva* type of *prabandha-gīti*, and used to be presented in accordance with suitable place, time, and circumstance: "*deśa-kālamavasthāṃ ca jñātvā yojya dhruvā budhaiḥ*" (32.352).

It has been said before that Bharata has dealt with the *brahmagītis* like *kapāla, kambala*, etc: ('*tanyakṣarāṇi vyakṣe yāni purā brahma-gītāni*' NS. 31.95), and following

Śāraṅgdeva, Kallināth has also mentioned: *'jāti-kapāla-kambala-grāmarāgoparāga-bhāṣā-vibhāṣāntarabhāṣā - paryanta-mityarthaḥ'*, which means *jātirāga*, and *kapāla* and *kambala gītis*, etc. were known as the *śuddha-sūḍa-prabandha-gītis*. From all these it becomes evident that the *dhruva-prabandhas* of the *sūḍa* type were also prevalent during or prior to Bharata (2nd century A.D.).

Now, let us find out whether Dattila, Mataṅga. Pārśvadeva and others have admitted the *sālaga-sūḍa* type of *dhruva-prabandha* (or *dhruvapada*) in their respective works, *Dattilaṃ*, *Bṛhaddeśī* and *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*. In the *Dattilaṃ*, musicologist Dattila has described about the *prakaraṇas* like *madraka*, *aprāntaka*, *ullopyaka*, etc., in the *ślokas* 160-221, and in this connection he has mentioned the names of ancient as well as his contemporary musicologists like Viśvākhila and others. It has already been said that Śāraṅgdeva has included *madraka*, *aparāntaka*, etc. as the *śuddha-sālaga-sūḍa-prabandhas*: *'śuddhaṃ prakaraṇānvitaṃ'*, etc. (IV. 312).

Though it is true that no definite mention of the *dhruva-prabandha* is to be found in the work, *Dattilaṃ*, yet it may be taken for granted that as Dattila has discussed about the *śuddha-sūḍa-prabandha*, it is most probable that he had in his mind about the *śalaga-sūḍa-prabandhas* like *dhruva*, etc. Moreover, it is said that the treatise, *Dattilaṃ*, which has already been published from Trivāndrum, is an incomplete (*khaṇḍita*) one, and so the presumption is strong that when the complete text of the work will see the light of the day, one may find mention of the *dhruva-prabandha* or *dhruvapada*, which will go a long way to prove its antiquity and practice without a shadow of doubt.

The descriptions of the *prabandha-gītis* are also found in Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī* (5th-7th century A. D.). Mataṅga has termed the *prabandhas* as *deśī*, which means the formalised regional but classical *gītis*. He had defined and at the same time described various kinds of *prabandhas* like *ḍheṅki*, *elā*, *daṇḍaka*, *dvipadī*, *caturaṅga*, *sarabhalīla*, etc. It seems that the Trivāndrum edition of the *Bṛhaddeśī* is also incomplete like that of the work, *Dattilaṃ*, and so it is not possible to cite the exact example of the *dhruva-prabandha* from it. But it is reasonable to presume that Mataṅga must have dealt with the *sālaga-sūḍa-prabandhas* like *dhruva*, etc. as he has already described about the *śuddha-sūḍa* type of *prabandhas* in his *Bṛhaddeśi*.

But the Jain musicologist Pārśvadeva has clearly mentioned about both the *śuddha* and *sālaga-sūḍa prabandhas*, including *dhruva* or *dhruvapada* in the *Saṅgīta-samaya-sāra*, written probably during the 7th-9th or 7th-11th century A.D. While describing eleven kinds of the *dhruva-prabandhas*, Pārśvadeva has said: "*sāla-sūḍa-kramaṃ vyakṣe—ādau dhruva tato maṭṭho*", etc. Here the word '*sāla-sūḍa*' means *sālaga-sūḍa*, and '*dhruva*' means *dhruva-prabandha*, and '*maṭṭha*' means *manṭha*.

After Pārśvadeva, Śāraṅgdeva has dealt elaborately with the *prabandhas* in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, and he has followed Pārśvadeva in this respect. It has been discussed previously that Śāraṅgdeva has divided the *sūḍa-prabandhas* into two classess, *śuddha* and *sālaga* (*chāyālaga*), i.e. pure and mixed. The *sālaga-sūḍa-dhruva-prabandha* is the forerunner or precursor of the Hindusthānī *dhruvapada* type of *gītis*.

Besides the sixteen pure types of *sūḍa-prabandha*, Śāraṅgdeva has described another seven *sālaga-prabandhas* like

dhruva, manṭha, pratimanṭha, nissāruka, aḍḍatāla, ekatāli, and *rāsaka.* These latter *prabandhas* were composed of three music-parts (*dhātus*) like *udgrābaka, antara* and *ābhoga,* and *melāpaka* being left out ("*ete, dhruvādayaḥ saptapi melāpakābhāvāstridhātavaḥ*"). But the *prabandhas* like *manṭha, pratimanṭha,* etc., of the *dhruva* class, comprised six limbs ("*manṭhādayastu ṣaḍapi*").

Regarding the nature of composition as well as the form and process of embelishment of the *dhruva-prabandha-gāna,* Śārangdeva has said,

Eka-dhātur-dvikhaṇḍaḥ syādyatrodgrāhastataḥ param//
Kiñciduccaṃ bhavet khaṇḍaṃ dvirabhyasmidaṃ trayaṃ/
Tato dvikhaṇḍa ābhogastasya syāt khaṇḍamādimaṃ//
Eka-dhātur-dvikhaṇḍaṃ ca khaṇḍamuccataraṃ paraṃ/
Stutyanāmāṅkitaścāsau kvaciduccaikakhaṇḍakaḥ//
Udgrāhasyādyakhaṇḍe ca nyāsaḥ sa-dhruvako bhavet/
Ekādaśākṣarāt khaṇḍādekaikākṣaravardhitaiḥ//
Khaṇḍe dhruvāḥ ṣoḍaśa syuḥ ṣaḍviṁśatyakṣarāvadhi/

Siṁhabhupāla has made these *ślokas* explicit, when he says: "*Dhruvādibhiḥ saptabhir-gītaiḥ sālaga-sūḍa-prabandhāḥ/ teṣu dhruvaṃ lakṣayati-ekadhātviti/ pūrvaṃ sadṛśageya-khaṇḍadvayayukta udgrāhaḥ kartavyaḥ/ tato'nantaraṃ kiñciduccaṃ khaṇḍamantarākhyaṃ kartavyaṃ; etat trayamapi dvirabhyastaṃ dvirgeyaṃ/ tato'nantaraṃ khaṇḍadvayam-yukta ābhogaḥ, tasya prathamaṃ khaṇḍadvaya-mekadhātu sadṛśageya-khaṇḍadvayayuktaṃ, dvitīya-khaṇḍaṃ tato'pyuccaṃ gātavyaṃ/ asāvābhogastutyasya nāyakasya nāmnā yuktaḥ kāryaḥ/ kvacitkeṣāṁcinmate'yamuccaikakhaṇḍo gātavyaḥ/ udgrāhasya ādyakhaṇḍe ca samāptiḥ, sa dhruva iti jñeyaḥ/*"

That is, the music-part, *udgrāha* was divided into two parts, and those two parts were sung in the same way (i.e.

in the same pitch), and for that reason, Śārangdeva has called them as '*eka-dhātu*' i.e. as if they were one and the same part. But it should be noted that their compositions were different (*mātu-gata bheda*), otherwise the same part used to be sung repeatedly. The next part used to be sung in acute or high pitch, and it was known as the *antara*. For that reason Siṁhabhupāla has said: "*kiñciduccaṃ khaṇḍaṃ antarākhyaṃ kartavyaṃ*". Śārangdeva has said "*dhruvābhogāntare*" etc., which means that in case of *prabandhas* of the *sālaga-sūḍa* class, *antara* used to be added other than the music-parts, *dhruva* and *ābhoga*. The two parts of the *udgrāha*, together with the *antara* (=three parts) were used for singing. The *ābhoga* was also divided into two parts, and they, like the two parts of the *udgrāha*, were also called as '*eka-dhātu*' or undivided part. But the difference lied in the fact that between the two parts of the *ābhoga*, the last part used to be sung in high pitch. According to Siṁhabhupāla, the last part of the *ābhoga* used to be sung in more acute or high pitch than the music-part, *antara*. In the *ābhoga* or concluding music-part, the name of the *stutya* or *nāyaka* (author or composer) used to be added, and after the singing of the entire song (with its music-parts), the first part of the *udgrāha* used to be repeated, and then the song ended.

Now, it should be remembered in this connection that the music-part, *dhruva* was not used in any time in the ancient *dhruva-prabandha*, as it used to be dropped. But Kallināth has said: "*ayamantaro laukika-rūpāntara ityucyate tathā tairdhruvaḥ khaṇḍasyāntara-vyapadeśaḥ kṛta iti mantavyaṃ*", which means that *antara-dhātu* can be taken in the sense of *dhruva-dhātu*, as it was essential for the composition of the song. However, Kallināth has discussed elaborately

on this subject. In the present system of the Hindusthānī music, *antara* is used as *antarā*, with other three parts, *sthāyī*, *sañcārī* and *ābhoga*. Kallināth has further said that the ancient form of *dhruva-prabandha* was comprised with *tāla*, and was included in the *tārāvalī-jāti* ('*tārāvalī-jātimanta*'), as it was composed of two *aṅgas* like *pada* and *tāla*.

Śāraṅgdeva has described sixteen types of *dhruva-prabandha*, and they are: *jayanta*, *śekhara*, *utsāha*, *madhura*, *nirmala*, *kuntala*, *kāmala*, *cāra*, *jaya-maṅgala*, *tilaka*, *lalita*, etc. These *dhruva*-type of *prabandhas* have been specifically mentioned in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* with their respective aesthetic sentiments and moods. Śāraṅgdeva has said,

> Jayantaśekharotsāhastato madhura-nirmalau//
> Kuntalaḥ kāmalaścāro nandanaścandraśekharaḥ/
> Kāmodo vijayākhyaśca kandarpa-jayamaṅgalau//
> Tilako lalitaśceti sañjñāścaiṣāṃ kramādimāḥ/
> Āditālena śṛṅgāre jayanto gīyate vudhaiḥ// etc.
> —*Ratnākara*, IV. 318-329.

To make the meanings of the *ślokas* of the *prabandhas* of the *dhruva* category, let us mention the commentary of Siṁhabhupāla, where he has said that sixteen kinds of *dhruva-prabandha* can be determined by adding one successive letter to each *prabandha* in a gradual process: "*tasya bhedānāha—ekādaśeti*/ *ekādaśākṣarakhaṇḍādārabhya ṣaḍviṁśatyakṣarakhaṇḍaparyantamekaikākṣaravṛddhyā jayantādayo lalitāntā ṣoḍaśa dhruvā bhavanti*/ *teṣāṃ krameṇa lakṣaṇamāha—āditāleneti*" (—Cf. *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, Ādyār edition, vol. II, pp. 313-315). Besides Śāraṅgdeva, Rājā Raghunāth Nāyaka of Tānjore (17th century A.D.) has also defined

the *dhruva-prabandha*, together with sixteen other *sālaga-sūḍa prabandhas* of the *dhruva* class in his *Saṅgītasudhā* (Cf. the Appendix to this chapter).

The *dhruvapada* of the latter period appears different in its form and method of presentation (*gāyakī-bhaṅgi*) from those of the ancient period, and probably this change or re-orientation took place in the time of Rājā Mān Singh of Gwālior in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. It has been mentioned that Rājā Mān modified the old *śāstric* form of the *dhruvapada-prabandha* for its better and wider appreciation according to the taste and temperament of the contemporary society. Before him, Baijunāth i.e. Baiju Bāorā and Gopāla Nāyaka and other noted musicians of that time and the Kalāvids in the court of Sultān Ālāud-dīn Khaljī used to culture the *dhruvapada* with due ardour and spirit, during the 14th-15th century A.D.

Āmir Khusrau, who was in the court of Sultān Ālā-ud-dīn, was an Indo-Persian scholar, poet and musician, and it is said that he was also a great lover and supporter of the *dhruva-prabandha-gīti*.

The period of Sharquī rule at Jaunpur, and specially that of the Sultān Husian Shāh Sharquī in the fifteenth century, witnessed the culture of the *dhruvapada* on a wide scale, and though the nucleus of the *kheyāl* or *khyāl* type of *gīti* evolved during the period, yet *dhruvapada* gained pre-eminence in the courts of the Sultānas. During the reign of the Emperor Akbar, or it can be said that from 1542-1605 A.D., the practice and culture of *dhruvapada* reached their high water mark. Swāmī Krishṇadas, the celebrated author of the *Gīta-prakāśa*, Swāmī Haridās, the disciple of Swāmī Krishṇadas, Rāmadās, Miān Tānsen and a host of other eminent musicians gained abiding fame for the culture of *dhruvapada*.

Like Gwālior and Delhi, Rewā was also a seat or centre of culture of *dhruvapada*. We know from history that before joining the court of Ākbar, Miān Tānsen was in the service of Rājā Rāmachānd of Bandhogarh, Rewā. who was a great patron of *dhruvapada*. The Rājā was so great a lover and patron of music, and specially of *dhruvapada* that he gave Tānsen in one day a crore of gold pieces. This statement has also been corroborated by the author of the *Vīrabhānudaya-kāvyaṃ*. The author of the *Vīrabhānudaya* says that "for every song and each *tāna* (?) and each *dhrupad* he (Rājā) gave a crore of rupees to this musician (*kalāvid*), namely Tānsen, who was the embodiment of the art of music". Though these statements of Bādāoni and that of the author of the *Vīrabhānudaya-kāvyaṃ* seem to be exaggeration to some extent, yet it is clearly understood that Rewā and even its adjacent places were famous for the culture of classical type of the *prabandha-gītis*.

Vṛndāvana was also a famous seat of culture of the *prabandha-gītis*. From the history of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism we come to know that most of the Vaiṣṇava savants, headed by Svarūpa-Dāmodara, Rāy Rāmānanda, Swāmī Krishṇadās, Swāmī Haridās, Krishṇadās Kavirāja, Raghunāthdās Goswāmī, Thākur Narottamadās and others were well-versed in the sublime *prabandha* type of *gītis*. It is said that Thākur Narottama devised the *padāvalī-kīrtana* on the structure and ideal of the classical *dhruvapada* in slow tempo at Khetari, Bengal. It might be the fact that Vṛndāvana drew its inspiration and impetus of the culture of *dhruvapada* from Gwālior and its adjacent places, but yet it cannot be denied that Vṛndāvana and afterwards Mathurā created the schools of their own, and those schools were maintained by a host of Kalāvids like Krishṇadās,

Haridās and others. Those celebrated exponents of music were all upholders of *dhruvapada.*

Bijāpur was also a seat of culture of classical music, and specially of *dhruvapada*. Sultān Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh II of Bijāpur was a contemporary to the Emperor Akbar. He devoted the best part of his life to the cause of classical music, in which he took interest from his early age. From Āsād Beg's mission to Bijāpur, we learn that Bijāpur was so famous for its culture of classical music that Akbar and afterwards Jāhāṅgīr were also attracted to this kingdom. From the editorial comments of the journal, *Lalitakalā*, April 1955—March 1956 and Joshi's, article on *Āsād Beg's Mission* in the '*Potadar Commemoration Volume*' 1950, we come to know that Āsād Beg went on his Mission in 1603-1604 A.D. It has been stated: "Speaking about the events of 1603-04, Āsād Beg says that he was invited to the Royal palace to bid farewell to Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh II of Bijāpur on the night of 27th *Sh'āban*. A grand music party had been arranged for the occasion. Āsād Beg found Ibrāhim so rapt in listening to music that he could hardly reply to Āsād Beg's question. The conversation for sometime was mainly concerned with music and musicians".

It should be remembered in this context that *dhruvapada* was the most prominent feature of music culture of that time i e. in the 16th-17th century.

Dr. Nāzir Āhmed has written as follows in the 'Introduction' to the book, *Kitāb-i-Naurās* by Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh II that Ibrāhim was a master of *dhruvapada* (*dhrupada*), and his book in the same style became so popular as to attract even the Mughal Emperor Jāhāṅgīr, and the Emperor claimed the *Kitāb-i-Naurās* to be in form of

dhruvapada which Sultān learnt from Baktār. It has been stated that about four thousand skilled musicians thronged on the occasion, and the Sultān wished that skilful musicians should always adorn his court by their presence. Dr. Nāzir Ahmed has said: "The Sultān's achievements in music will be best judged from his own composition, the *Kitāb-i-Naurās*. He has stated by Jāhāṅgīr to have learnt this art from Bakhtār Khān, a notable statesman at the court of Bijāpur, to whom the Sultān is stated to have married his niece subsequently". He has further stated: "Unfortunately the names of only two of the musicians have survived; the first is Bakhtār Khān about whom we have spoken earlier. He is stated to be the King's teacher in *Dhrupada* form of music. But he seemed to be younger than the Sultān himself. * * The other musician at the court of Ibrāhim was Chānd Khān. He is mentioned by the way in the *Basatin-us-Salatin* which shows that he was one of the pupils of the Sultān and was classed with the ***Huziris***. He is stated to have wielded much influence and was a favourite of the Sultān".[1]

It has already been stated that Sultān's adherence to music was personally reported by Āsād Beg who visited him in A.H. 1013/1604 at Akbar's behest. "When the Mughal envoy was to leave the Ādil Shāhi court, a grand musical concert was arranged to celebrate the occasion. In that farewell party, Āsād Beg found him so much wrapped in listening to music that he could hardly reply to his (Āsād Beg's) questions. Their conversation centred

1. Cf. *Kitāb-i-Naurās* by Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh, edited by Dr. Nāzir Āhmed, and published by the Bhāratiya Kalā-kendra, New Delhi, 1956, pp. 48, 52-53.

round music and musicians. Ibrāhim enquired about Akbar's fondness of music, and was told that he listened to it sometimes. He then enquired of the Mughal envoy whether Tānsen stood or sat while singing before Emperor, and was told that in Darbār at day time he had stand while singing; but at night and on festive occasions Tānsen and other musicians were allowed to take their seats while engaged in their performance. Ibrāhim is stated to have expressed that music should be heard at all times and musicians should be kept happy and contended. He held the musicians in high esteem which is proved by his marrying his niece to Baktār Khān".[1]

From the fact it is proved that *dhruvapada* used to play a prominent part in every musical function not only in the Royal court of the Mughal Emperor, but also in the kingdom of Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh II. After Akbar, the Emperors like Jāhāṅgīr aud Sāhajāhān were also great patrons of *dhruvapada.* The names of Jagannāth Kavirāj, Dirang Khān, Guṇasamudra Lāl Khān, the son-in-law of Bilās Khān, are worth-mentioning in this connection as noted exponents and connoisseurs of *dhruvapada-prabandha.*

In the beginning of the eighteenth century A.D., when Mohommed Shāh was on the throne of Delhi, *dhruvapada* was held in high esteem in his court. The name of Mohommed Shāh's court-musician Niyāmat Khān, *sadāraṅg* is worth-mentioning in this connection. Niyāmat Khān, *sadāraṅg* was a *veeṇkāra* as well as a *dhrupadīyā*. Though he devised a new style of *kheyāl* or *khyāl* in slow tempo, yet he was noted as an exponent of *dhruvapada* of the pure Senī

1 Ibid., pp. 48-49.

school. The decadence in the culture and appreciation of *dhruvapada* came probably during the British rule in India. It came to a climax, when the last titular Mughal Emperor Shāh Ālam II ascended the throne of Delhi, and granted by a *firmān*, the Diwānī of Bengal,. Bihār and Orissā to the East India Company.

Viṣṇupur (Bāṅkurā) and different parts of Bengal were also recognised as the seats of culture of *dhruvapada*. Because when the noted musicians of Senī school found no help and support from the Emperor Shāh Ālām II, they began to seek refuge in the Durbārs of different Muslim Nawābs, Hindu kings and rich landlords of Oudh, Betiyā, Viṣṇupur, Hooghly and different parts of West and East Bengal.

It may, therefore, be said that the *prabandha*-type of *gītis* originated during the pre-Christian era, and evolved through ages out of the ancient *jātirāga* and different *grāmarāgas*, as described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Bṛhaddeśī*, *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*, *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, etc., and attained development, assuming novel modes, new names and phases. It still survives in the form of modern *dhrupada* i. e. *dhruvapada*, though lacking in its prestine glory and traditional ideal. Ordinarily it is believed that the term "*dhruvapada*" (*dhruva* + *pada*) connotes the idea of sacred or celestial *gīti* or song, for "*dhruva*" means 'sacred' or 'that which is eternal, persisting and celestial,' and *pada*, meaning *gīti* or *gāna*, as has been defined and described in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

The word '*dhruvapada*' has been derived from the classical type of the *dhruva-prabandha*, which has been described in the works of Mataṅga. Pārśvadeva, Śāraṅgdeva and others. The root meaning of the word *dhruva* (*dhru* + *a*(*ka*)

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may convey the ideas of 'calmness', 'straightness', 'permanency', 'deathlessness', 'sacredness', etc. But necessarily the term *dhruvapada* does not convey the idea of sacred or celestial song, as meant by the first part of the couplet: "*yo dhruvāni parityajya adhruvāni niṣevate*" etc., It might have been the fact that in later period, the idea of sacredness or permanency was added or imposed on the *dhruvapada* type of *gīti* or *gāna*. Again the term *dhruvapada* was neither derived from the *gāndharva dhruvā* (*nāṭyagīti*), as described in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, nor from the music-part (*dhātu*) *dhruva*, which is again a deviated form of *dhuyā* of a song. It is purely a contemplative and majestic type of song, *dhruva-prabandha* of the *sālaga-sūḍa* class. It is seen that some of the scholars try to describe the dramatic song (*nāṭyagīti*) *dhruvā*, described by Bharata, as the forerunner of the *dhruvapada*, but they are absolutely wrong.

Originally the literary composition (*sāhitya*) of the *dhruvapada* was graceful, majestic and contemplative by nature. It breathed an air of sublimity and grandeur in laudation of the gods and goddesses and the Father in Heaven, though in later days it lost that lofty ideal, to some extent. Because in later days, the *dhruvapadas* used to be composed in praise of the seasons, compositions of songs, Nature, kings and Emperors.[1]

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1 Different types of compositions of the *dhruvapada* :

(क) महावाक्-वादिनी सम्मुख होइये आप् हो—चौताल, तानसेन
(ख) जय गङ्गा जगततारिणी ,, तानसेन
(ग) तेरोही ध्यानधरत ,, गोपाल नायक
(घ) आदि पाद प्रणवरूप ,, सुरत सेन
(ङ) तु अम्वे आद-भवानी ,, वैजु-वाओरा

During the time of Akbar, the four methods of improvisation of the *prabandha-gītis* (songs) centered on the regional utterances (intonations) of the compositions or *sāhitya*, and they were known as four *vāṇīs*. The name of the four *vāṇīs* are: *gauḍahāra*, *khāṇḍāra*, *dāgara* and *naohāra*. It is generally believed that these *vāṇīs* evolved or were created for the first time during the reign of Akbar. But that is not the fact, as different *gītis* were in practice before the time of Mataṅga (5th-7th century A. D.), having different characteristics and methods of improvisation. Those *gītis* have been fully described by Mataṅga, Pārśvadeva, Śārangdeva and others in their *Bṛhaddeśī*, *Saṅgīta-samayasāra* and *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. Mataṅga has said about seven kinds of *gītis* i.e. *rāgagītis*, and they were; *śuddhā*, *bhinnā* or *bhinnakā*, *gauḍī* or *gauḍikā*, *rāgagīti*, *sādhāraṇī*, *bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā*. Those *rāgagītis* were so called because they were known by their respective *rāgas*. Those *rāgagītis* were possessed of different specific qualities or characteristics, and so when they were sung, they used to create different methods of improvisation, which can be taken at present as different styles of presentation.

(च)	माधव मुकुन्द मुरारे	चौताल, वैजु-वाओरा
(छ)	वाणी चारों के वेओहार	,, तानसेन
(ज)	राग रङ्ग शुध-मुद्रा	,, वैजु-वाओरा
(झ)	वने रहो साहेव	,, तानसेन
(ञ)	तुम विन घुम घुम	,, बोँधि खां
(ट)	चढो चिरञ्जीव शाह अकवर	,, तानसेन
(ठ)	तेरो परताप वढो शाहन-शाह	,, तानसेन
(ड)	छतपति मानराजा तुम चिरञ्जीव रहो	,, तानसेन
(ढ)	श्याम सि घन श्याम उमड घुमड आयो	,, तानसेन

According to Yāṣṭika, the *rāgagītis* were five in number, and they were: *śuddhā, bhinnā, veṣarā, gauḍī* or *gauḍa* and *sādhārita* (or *sādhāraṇī*). According to Durgāśakti, the *rāgagītis* were three, and the ancient musicologist Śārdula approved only one *rāgagīti*. From this it is known that the ancient *rāgagītis* and even the *grāmarāga-gītis* used to be sung in different methods or styles.

Mataṅga and Śāraṅgdeva have described about different specific qualities or characteristics of the seven or five *rāgagītis*. To mention the outlines of their descriptions, it can be said:

(a) The *śuddhā* type of the *rāgagītis* possessed tones, which were straight (*ṛju*), soft (*komala*) and melodious (*madhura*).

(b) The *bhinnā* type of the *rāgagītis* possessed tones, which were used in curved lines or crooked way (*vakra*), but with subtle and sweet tonal modulations (*gamakas*).

(c) The *gauḍī* type of the *rāgagītis* possessed tones, which were frequently used in three octaves (*saptakas*), with steady poise and some vibrations like *kampana* or *gamaka*.

(d) The *veṣarā* type of the *rāgagītis* possessed tones, which were used in rapid tempo (*druta-laya*) and quicker vibrations.

(e) The *sādhāraṇī* type of the *rāgagītis* had no special quality or feature of its own, and it used to be sung with the combination of four other *gītis*.

(f) The *bhāṣā* type of the *rāgagītis* possessed sweet and tangible tones, added with *kākus*.

(g) The *vibhāṣā* type of the *rāgagītis* possessed tones, which were pleasing and soothing. The tones were used

in all the octaves, and the *gītis* used to be sung or played with ease and with different *gamakas*.[1]

Different kinds of *rāgas* (i.e. *grāmarāgas*) evolved from those *rāgagītis*, and it might be taken for granted that *rāgas* (*grāmarāgas*), that evolved later, used to be sung and played in accordance with different qualities or characteristics of the *rāgas*.

It has already been said that during the time of Akbar (and of Miāṅ Tānsen), the *dhruvapada-gītis* used to be sung and played with mainly four *vāṇīs*, which were afterwards known as four methods of improvisation of the songs. Those methods or ways of presentation of the classical *prabandha-gītis* were, therefore, not altogether new inventions in the domain of Indian music, as different methods of presentation of songs were already in practice in ancient times (the examples of which have been cited in Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī* and Śāraṅgdeva's *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*). It will not, therefore, be wise to say that the later *vāṇīs* or styles of improvisation evolved from those of the past. It might have been the fact that the *vāṇīs* that gave rise to different methods of improvisation or presentation of the *rāgas* (consequently of the *gānas* or songs) like *rāgagītis*, *grāmarāga-gītis*, etc. in the medieval time, during the reign of Akbar, were somewhat similar to those which were prevalent in ancient time.

Kumāra B. N. Roychoudhury has rightly observed in this connection that in the Hindusthānī *dhruvapada*, we find the names of four *vāṇīs* which indicated four different styles of the *dhruvapada* songs. The *gauḍahāra-vāṇī*

1 Cf. *Bṛhaddeśī* (Travāncore ed.), pp 82-84.

resembled the *śāstric śuddhā-gīti*, containing *meeḍs* in straight lines, according to the structures of the *rāgas*. Miāṅ Tānsen himself was a master of this style, although he was proficient in other styles as well. In the hierarchy of his youngest son, Bilās Khāṅ, this style was mainly used. Similarly the *dāgara-vāṇī* resembled the *bhinnā-gīti*, which contained *meeḍs* in curved lines with sweet and subtle *gamakas*. The *dāgara-vāṇī* was very charming, and it is said that that *vāṇī* was used in Vṛndāvana by the disciples of Swāmī Haridāsa, and also by Sarasvatī Devī, the daughter of Miāṅ Tānsen. The husband of Sarasvatī Devī was Miśrī Siṅgh, the noted *veeṇā*-player. The *khāṇḍāra-vāṇī* resembled the *śāstric veṣarā-gīti*, which contained quick *gamakas*. It is said that that *vāṇī* or method of presentation (style) of the *dhruvapada* was used by Bāj Bāhādur, and also by Miśrī Siṅgh in his *veeṇā* recitals. Later on, the descendants of Miśrī Siṅgh used both the *dāgara-vāṇī* and the *khāṇḍāra-vāṇī*. The *naohāra-vāṇī* resembled somewhat the *gauḍī-gīti*, which contained '*cchut-alaṁkāra*'. In that *vāṇī*, tones were used in a jumping way, with different *gamakas*. That *vāṇī* was used as a part of the *dhruvapada*.

Śrī Roychoudhury has further said that the *vāṇīs* of the *dhruvapada* used to indicate the words as well as the intonations of the words, which used to be produced in accordance with different emotional sentiments, contained in the *rāgas*. It is said that the sweet *gauḍahāra-vāṇī* used to create the emotional sentiments of calmness and peaceful tranquility (*śānta-rasa*); the *dāgara-vāṇī* used to create the sentiments of sweetness or pathos (*madhura-rasa*) as well as that of the sympathetic attitude (*karuṇa-rasa*); the *khāṇḍāra-vāṇī* used to create the sentiments of valour and heroic spirit (*veera-*

rasa), and the *naohāra-vaṇi* used to create the sentiment of surprising movements of the tones, expressed in the *adbhūta-rasa*.

Gradually different schools of *dhruvapada* (*gharāṇās*) evolved to suit the different methods of improvisation of the songs. Those schools or *gharāṇās* evolved no doubt after the unique style of Miāṅ Tānsen. The *Senī-gharāṇā* of Jaipur specialised in the *dāgara-vāṇī* style of the *dhruvapada*. "In Lucknow, Vārānaśī and Rāmpur, two lines of the *senī-gharāṇā* became very famous. The line of Bilās Khān specialised in the *dhruvapada* of *gauḍahāra-vāṇī*, although they took up the *dāgara-vāṇī* to some extent. The Senī-musicians of the line of Miśrī Siṅghji were specialists in the *dāgara* and *khāṇḍāra vāṇīs*. Among other *gharāṇās* of *dhruvapada*, which grew up with the teachings of the Senī-musicians or of the disciples of Haridās Swāmī, the musicians of Betiyā based their *dhruvapadas* on the *khāṇḍāra-vāṇī*, and the famous musicians of Viṣṇupur made *gauḍahāra-vāṇī* the basis of their music. The vocalists of Mathurā mainly sang the *dhruvapadas* of *dāgara-vāṇī*. Another famous *gharāṇā* of *dhruvapada* led by Ustād Bāhrām Khān, flourished in Rājasthān".[1]

Now, it can be said that *dhruvapada-prabandha-gāna* is the basis or background of all kinds of music, *kheyāl* or *khyāl*, *ṭappā*, *ṭhuṁrī*. etc., and even of classico-Bengali and Bengali folk songs. So the proper culture of *dhruvapada-prabandha* requires to be maintained and sustained in all its purity and supreme value even in these days, so as to

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1 Vide B. N. Roychoudhury: *Hindusthānī Music and Miān Tānsen* (Calcutta), pp. 6-10.

preserve the glorious tradition of *śāstrīya* classical music, and to enrich the priceless treasure of art culture of India.

II

THE CULTURE OF DHRUVAPADA IN BENGAL

During the early 19th century, Chinsurā, (Hooghly) Krisṇanagar (Nadiā) and Murshidābād became famous as the seats of culture of classical music, and specially of *dhruvapada*. Ustād Mān Khān settled at Chinsurā in 1806, and nearly during the same time, Ustāds Baḍe Miāṅ, Has-su-khān, Hardu-khān, Hīrā and Bulbul settled at Murshidābād, and Ustād Rasūl Bux settled first at the Krisṇanagar Rājbāṭi, and afterwards at Śrīrāmpur, Hooghly. When Ustād Mān Khān came to Bengal and settled at Chinsurā in 1806 A.D., the titular Emperor Shāh Ālam II of Delhi drew his last breath (in the same year). Shāh Ālam II was a man of very weak personality, and he was extremely indifferent alike to the Hindu and Muslim Ustāds in his court. It is said that when he granted the *dewānī* of Bengal, Behār and Orissā to the East India Company on the 12th August, 1765, the noted Ustāds of his court, and also of Delhi and Āgrā began to migrate to different parts of India, and eventually sought refuge in different Durbārs of Muslim Nawābs and Hindu Kings and Zemindars of different parts of the country. Some say that most of them settled in Bengal during 1757 to 1806 A.D. Hāyadāra Khān went to Betiyā, Chajju Khāṅ settled at Lucknow, and Ustād Mān Khān, and Ustāds Baḍe Miaṅ, Has-su-khān and others came in Bengal and settled at Chinsurā and Murshidābād.

Rāmachandra Seal of Chinsurā was the first and foremost student of Ustād Mān Khān, and the names of many other enthusiastic Bengali young men like Gopāl Chandra Pāṭhak, Parāṇa Mukherji, Rāmakriṣṇa Pāul, Rāmakānāi Mukherjee and others are worth-mentioning in this connection. As regards the student of Ustād Rasūl Bux, the name of Rāmadās Goswāmī of Śrīrāmpur is worth-mentioning and from Rāmadās Goswāmī, Harinārāyaṇa Mukerji of Vārānasī and Nimāi Chānd Ghoṣāl of Śrīrāmpur learnt *dhruvapada*. Afterwards Harinārāyaṇa Mukherji learnt *dhruvapada* from many other Hindu and Muslim Ustāds. A Punjābī school is still prevalent at Chinsurā.

In the middle of the 19th century A.D., Calcutta became the chief centre of culture of classical music, under the patronage of Mahārāja Jatindra Mohan Tagore and Sir Saurīndra Mohan Tagore. A '*Saṅgīta-samāja*' was established in Calcutta. At that time all the top-ranking Muslim and Hindu Ustāds of India used to assemble from time to time in different *mifles* and *soirees* at Calcutta, and created for the lovers of music a congenial atmosphere of classical music, and specially of *dhruvapada*, and of those Ustāds the names of Maulā Bux (1876) of Barodā, Ustād Āli Bux, Ustād Daulat Khāṅ of Lāhore, Hanumān Dāsjī of Gayā are worth-mentioning. Again those, who helped for the promotion of culture of *dhruva-pada* in Bengal, the names of Mahārāja Ānanda Kishore and Mahārāja Nawal Kishore of Betiyā, Rājā Brajendra Kishore Roychondhury of Gourīpur, Mahārāja Sūryakānta Āchārya of Mymensingh, Jagat Kishore Āchārya of Muktāgāchā, Bābu Sāradā Prasanna Mukherji of Gobar-dāṅgā, Jaikrishṇa Mukherjee of Uttarapārā, Rājā Rāo Jogindra Nārāyaṇ Rāy Bāhādur of Lālgolā, Mahārāja

Jogindra Nāth Roy of Nātore, Rājā Veer-Vikrama Bāhādur of Āgoretolā stand prominent. Different styles of *dhruvapada*, obtained from different Ustāds of different schools, grew up in Bengal, and gradually stalwarts like Rāmśankar Banerji, Ananta Lāl Banerjee, Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī, Jadu Bhatta, Aghore Nāth Chakravarty, Wizīr Khāṅ, Mohammed Āli Khān, Radhikā Prosād Goswāmī, Krishna Dhan Banerji, Guru Prasād Miśra, Lakṣmī Prasād Miśra, Rāmprasanna Banerji, Viśvanāth Dhāmāri, Dāni Bābu or Satish Chandra Dutta, Gopāl Chandra Banerjee, Nikuñja Behari Dutta, Mahīm Chandra Mukherji, Lalit Mohan Mukherji. Girijā Śankar Chakravurty, and others appeared on the scene, and through their endeavour gave fresh impetus to the culture of *dhruvapada* in Bengal. The names of some of the living artists, those are still preserving the glorious tradition of the culture of *dhruvapada* in Bengal, are worth-mentioning in this connection. They are Sangītanāyaka Gopeśwara Banerjee (died in 1963), Surendranāth Banerjee, Amarnāth Bhattāchārya, Yogīndra Nāth Banerjee, Dhirendranath Bhattāchārya (died in 1964) and others.

The early compositions of Kaviguru Rabīndranāth Tagore have a leaning towards *dhruvapada*, and he also learnt *dhruvapada* from the Ustāds like Vishṇu Chakravurty, Śrīkanṭha Siṅha, and some others in his early youth.[1] In fact, the vestiges of the graceful technique and mode of presentation of *dhruvapada*, as taught by the old masters, linger among the musicians, who still hold fast to the culture of the sombre and graceful type of Indian music. It is firmly

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1 Rabindranath's precious contributions in the domain of Indian music have been discussed in the Appendix III.

asserted that Bengal is still preserving the sacred tradition of culture of *dhruvapada* in its true perspective and colour, and in all its beauty, grandeur, and sublime aesthetic lusture.

APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER IX.

I

(क) **पार्श्वदेवः** (7th-9th or 7th-11th century A.D.):

अथ सालगसूडक्रमं वक्ष्ये—

आदौ ध्रुवा (ध्रुव ?) ततो मट्टा(प्रति)मट्टा च लम्भकः ।
अड्डताली रासकश्च एकतालीव कीर्तिता ॥
आदौ पादौ समगणयुतौ धातुसामौ ततस्त-
त्तुल्यो वाङ्घ्रिस्त्वधिक इतरो धातुनान्येन युक्तः ।
स्यादुद्ग्राहेऽत्र पदसहितो गेय एष द्विवारं
त्वङ्घ्री गीत्वा सकृदपि पुनर्न्यस्यते चोद्ग्राहे सः ॥

स ध्रुव एकादशधा—

शशिहासहंसमाधवनोल्लोत्पलतापसप्रजानाथाः ।
हरिहरनरपतिशक्रा एकादश ते क्रमादुक्ताः ॥
—सङ्गीतसमयसारः (Trivāndrum ed. 1925), IV. 191-193

(ख) **शार्ङ्गदेवः** (early 13th Century A.D.):

शुद्धछायालगश्चेति द्विविधः सूड उच्यते ।
एलादिः शुद्ध इत्युक्तो ध्रुवादि सालगो मतः ॥

—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकरः ४।३१०-३११

(ग) **कल्लिनाथः** (1446-1465 A.D.):

छायालगश्छायां शुद्धसादृश्यं लगति गच्छतीति तथोक्तः। एलादिरिति। एलामारभ्यैकतालीपर्यन्तमष्टभिर्गीतैः शुद्धसूड इत्युक्तः। ध्रुवादिरिति। वक्ष्यमाणं ध्रुवमारभ्य वक्ष्यमाणैकतालीपर्यन्तं सप्तभिर्गीतैः सालगसूडोऽभिमतः। सालग इति छायालगशब्दस्यापभ्रंशोऽपि लोकप्रसिद्धया प्रयुक्त इति वेदितव्यः।

* * ध्रुवादेस्तु नियमातिलङ्घनात् सर्वथा सालगत्वमेवेति भावः । * *
(३१०-३१२)। एते ध्रुवादयः सप्तापि मेलापकाभावात्त्रिधातवः । मराठादयस्तु षडपि, 'ततो वैकल्पिकोऽन्तरः' इति वचनेन सान्तरत्वपक्षे तेनान्तरेण सह चतुर्धातवः । अनन्तरत्वपक्षे तु त्रिधातव एव । अयमन्तरो लौकिकरूपान्तर इत्युच्यते । तथा तैर्ध्रुवः खण्डस्यान्तरव्यपदेशः कृत इति मन्तव्यम् । क्वचिद् ध्रुवखण्डस्यान्तरव्यापदेशो ग्रन्थकारेणापि कृतः । यथाैकतालीलक्षणे 'सकृद्वियतिरुद्ग्राहोऽन्तरस्त्वक्षरनिर्मितः' इत्यत्रोद्ग्राहानन्तरमन्तरग्रहणादन्तरशब्देन ध्रुवखण्ड एवोच्यत इति गम्यते । अत्रान्तरस्त्वित्यत्र तुशब्देनोद्ग्राहस्यालापरचितत्वमवगन्तव्यम् । एवम्, 'आलापरचितोऽन्तरः' इत्यत्रापि ध्रुव एवान्तरशब्दवाच्यः । एते ध्रुवादयस्तालादिनियमान्निर्युक्ताः, पदतालवद्धाद्ध्यङ्गास्तारावलीजातिमन्तः ।"
३३३-३६० ।

(घ) **राजा रघुनाथः** (1614 A.D.):

॥ सालगसूडलक्षणम् ॥

सूडप्रबन्धो विविधोऽत्र शुद्धश्छायालगश्चेत्यवधारणीयम् ।
अष्टाविहैलप्रमुखाः प्रबन्धाः प्रोक्ताः प्रवीणैः किल शुद्धसूडाः ॥

* * *

छायालगाख्यः किल शब्द एष व्युत्पादितोऽसौ विशदं मुनीन्द्रैः ।
ध्रुवं समारभ्य किलैकताली यावद्भवेत् सालगसूडसंज्ञः ॥

॥ ध्रुवलक्षणम् ॥

गेयौ हि तुल्यस्वरगुम्भयुक्तौ खण्डाविहोद्ग्राहपदाभिधेयौ ।
स्यादन्तराख्यः किल खण्ड एकः स्यादीषदुच्चस्वरगुम्भयुक्तः ॥
खण्डत्रयं हि खलु गेयमेवं खण्डद्वयेनाथ समन्वितस्तु ।
आभोगखण्डः पुनरत्र कार्यस्तत्राद्यखण्डः पुनरेकधातुः ॥
द्वितीयखण्डः पुनरत्र खण्डद्वयात्मकस्तत्र किलाद्यखण्डः ।
स्यादीषदुच्चस्वरगुम्भयुक्तस्त्वेतादृगाभोगपदाभिधेयः ॥

स्यान्नेतृनामाङ्कित एव कार्यो मतान्तरेष्वेष विशेष उक्तः ।
उच्चैकखण्डात्मक एव सोऽयमाभोगनामावयवः किलेति ॥
उद्ग्राहकस्यादिमखण्ड एव न्यासो भवेदस्य समस्तमेतत् ।
ध्रुवस्य सामान्यमिदं हि लक्ष्म वक्ष्यामहे षोडश तद्विशेषान् ॥

—सङ्गीतसुधा (Music Academy, Madras, 1940), *Ślokas*, 800-803 and 808-812 (pp. 340-341).

(ङ) **वेङ्कटमखी** (1620 A.D.):

रूढ्या सालगसूडाख्यगीतभेदैकवाचकः ।
अतः सालगसूडाख्यं गीतमत्र निरूप्यते ॥
तत्र सालगसूडेति शब्दस्यार्थः प्रदर्श्यते ।
सूड इत्येष देशीयशब्दो गीतकवाचकः ॥

* * *

गच्छतीति यतस्तस्माच्छायालग इति स्मृतः ।
छायालगेति शब्दापभ्रंशः सालग इत्ययम् ॥

* * *

स च सालगसूडाख्यो ध्रुवादिः सप्तधा मतः ।
आद्यो ध्रुवस्ततो मट्ठः प्रतिमठ्ठो निसारुकः ॥
अड्डतालस्ततो रास एकतालीति च क्रमात् ।
तत्रापि प्रथमोद्दिष्टध्रुवलक्षणमुच्यते ॥
आदौ खण्डद्वयं कार्यं भिन्नमात्वेकधातुकम् ।
तत्खण्डद्वयमुद्ग्राहो विज्ञेयस्तदनन्तरम् ॥
उद्ग्राहस्वरतः किञ्चिदुच्चस्वरसमन्वितम् ।
खण्डं कुर्यादिदं खण्डत्रयं द्विर्गेयमिष्यते ॥
ततो द्विखण्ड आभोगः स्तुत्यनामाङ्कितः स्मृतः ।
उच्चस्वरैकखण्डः स्यादाभोग इति केचन ॥
उद्ग्राहस्याद्यखण्डे च न्यासो यत्र स तु ध्रुवः ।
तं च ध्रुव ह्यष्टविधं वदन्ति भरतादयः ॥

—चतुर्दण्डीप्रकाशिका, गीतप्रकरण, ४-१५

II

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DHRUVA-GĀNA AND THE DHRUVĀ-GĀNA

The students of history of Indian music should know that two ancient types of song, *dhruva* and *dhruvā* are not one and the same thing, but are different from each other in types, structures and applications. Because the former is the *nibaddha prabandha* type of song, included in the *sālaga-sūḍa* category, whereas the later is purely the stage-song of the *nibaddha* type of metrical song, meant for the dramatic performances. The *dhruva-gāna* has been described by Mataṅga (5th-7th century A.D.) Pārśvadeva (7th-9th or 9th-11th century A.D.), Śāraṅgdeva (early 13th century A.D) and other later authors in their respective works on music. Similarly the stage-song, *dhruvā* has been elaborately described by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (in the 32nd chapter, Vārānasī edition). Regarding the *dhruva-gāna*, Śāraṅgdeva has said,

Śuddha chāyālagaśceti dvividhaḥ sūḍa ucyate//
Elādiḥ śuddha ityukto dhruvādi sālago mataḥ/

* * *

Ādyo dhruvastato maṇṭha-pratimaṇṭha-nisārukāḥ//

* * *

Ekadhātur-dvikhaṇḍaṃ ca khaṇḍamuccataraṃ paraṃ/
Stutyanāmāṅkitaścāsau kvaciduccaikakhaṇḍakaḥ//
Udgrāsyādyakhaṇḍe ca nyāsaḥ sa-dhruvako bhavet// etc.

—*Ratnākara*, IV. 310-318.

Kallināth has said in the commentary: "*ete dhruvādayaḥ saptāpi melāpakābhāvat tridhātavaḥ*", i.e, the *dhruva-gāna* is possessed of three music-parts or *dhātus*. Siṁhabhupāla

has also said: "*sālaga-sūḍaṃ lakṣayitumāha—śuddha* iti / *sūḍo dvividhaḥ; śuddhaḥ chāyālagaśceti* / * * *dhruvādiḥ sālagaḥ; sālaga-chāyālagau paryāyau* / (IV. 310-312) / *sālagasūḍa-prabandhānvibhajate—ādyo dhruva iti* / *dhruvādibhi saptabhirgītaiḥ sālaga-sūḍa-prabandhāḥ* / *teṣu dhruvaṃ lakṣyati—ekadhātviti* / etc.

The *śāstric dhruva-gāna* or *dhruvapada-prabandha-gāna* or *dhrupad* was afterwards revived with a new vision by Rājā Mān Siṅgh (Tomar) of Gwālior in the 15th century A.D. The *dhruva-gāna* is neither derived from the stage-song, *dhruvā-gāna*, nor from the music-part, *dhruva-dhātu*, but it is the *nibaddha prabandha* type of song.

But the *dhruvā-gāna* is an old type of *nibaddha* stage-song, and it has been divided into different classes. Bharata has said (in the chapter XXXII, Vārānasī edition):

Dhruveti saṃjñitāni syur-nārada-pramukhair-dvijaiḥ /

* * * *

Ya ṛcaḥ pāṇikā gāthā saptarūpāṅgameva ca /
Saptarūpaṃ pramāṇaṃ hi sā dhruvetyabhisaṃjñitāḥ //
Ebhyastvaṅgebhya uddhṛtya nānā-chandaḥkṛtāni ca /
Dhruvātvaṃ yāni gacchanti tāni vyakṣāmyahaṃ dvijāḥ //

—*Naṭyaśāstra*, 32.1-3.

The *dhruvā-gāna* is also known as the *gāndharva*; "*dhruvā-vidhānañca mayā svara-tāla-padātmakaṃ / gāndharvametat kathitaṃ mayā hi pūrvaṃ yaduktaṃ tviha nāradena*" (NS.32.483-84). The sixty-four *dhruvās* evolved from the *jātis* or *jātirāga-gānas*: "*catuḥṣaṣṭir-dhruvānāṃ ca vijñeyo mūla-jātayaḥ*" (32.326). Bharata and the commentator Abhinavagupta have again divided the stage-song, *dhruvā*

into five main varieties for their dramatic uses and applications, and they are:

Praveśa-ākṣepa-niṣkrāma-prāsādikamathantaram/
Gānaṃ pañcavidhaṃ jñeyaṃ dhruvāyoga-samanvitaṃ//[1]

Among these five *dhruvās* (1) the *praveśa-dhruvā* is the song of entrance in the stage, or it can be said as the *entry song* ('*pātrasya praveśa*'). (2) The *ākṣepa-dhruvā* is the song used to reveal flavour of a particular situation ('*rasāntarākṣepārthamākṣepa-gānaṃ*'). (3) The *niṣkrāma-dhruvā* is the song used to be sung when the actor used to walk out of the stage. It can be said to be the *exit song* ('*pātrasya niṣkramaṇe tu niṣkrama-gānaṃ*'). (4) The *prāsādika-dhruvā* is the song, designed to convey to the audience in an attractive form, the inward feeling of an actor so as to touch the heart of the audiences. ('*praviṣṭasyāntargataṃ cittavṛttiṃ sāmājikān prati prasādayituṃ prathayituṃ prāsāda-gānaṃ*'). (5) The *antara-dhruvā* is the song introduced during the interval of the actor; moving and walking about, and inspecting something on the stage ('*antaramiti gati-parikramaṇa-nirūpaṇādi tatra yad gīyate tadantaraṃ gānaṃ*'). Besides them, there were other varieties of *dhruvā-gāna*. But it should be remembered that all kinds of *dhruvā-gāna* were meant for or applicable to the dramatic performances, and this type of the stage-

1 Bharata has mentioned them as:

प्रावेशिकी तु प्रथमा द्वितीयाक्षेपिकी स्मृता ।
प्रासादिकी तृतीया च चतुर्थी चान्तरा ध्रुवा ॥
नैष्क्रामिकी च विज्ञेया पञ्चमी च ध्रुवा बुधैः ।
एतासां चैव वक्ष्यामि छान्दोवृत्तनिदर्शनम् ॥

Nāṭyaśāstra (Vārānasī ed.), 32.23-24.

song is quite different from the *dhruvā-gāna* of the *sālaga-sūḍa prabandha*-class.

III

A VIEW

Let me mention and also quote, in this connection, a view, forwarded by an erudite scholar, Śrī Ṭhākur Jaideva Siṅgh. This view was given in his paper on *Prabandha and Dhruvapada*, read in the All India Radio Symposium, held at New Delhi. He has forwarded:

"The first historical reference that we get about *dhruvapada* is its association with Rājā Mān Siṅgh, Tomar of Gwālior. He ascended the throne in 1486 A.D. He did not invent *dhruvapada*. He only gave it an impetus. It must have taken about hundred years for the development of this style of musical composition before such a connoisseur of music, as Rājā Mān Siṅgh could extend to it his patronage and take such a great interest in its development. We may, therefore, safely say that the *dhruvapada* style of composition started some time about the middle of the 14th century. The question is whether *dhruvapada* was entirely an innovation or simply an evolution of an earlier form of composition.

"A careful reading of the *Saṅgīta-śāstras* will at once show that *dhruvapada* was only an evolution of the *prabandha* form of composition. The word '*prabandha*' literally means anything well-knit or well-fitted. It is a blanket term for 'composition'. But in music it came to be used in the restricted sense of composition of a particular kind. Sāraṅgdeva, the great musicologist of the

13th century has devoted a whole chapter to '*prabandha*' in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. Jayadeva has written his *Gīta-govinda* in the style of *prabandha*. He graced the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, who was king of Western Bengal and flourished in the 12th century A.D. At the very outset of his *Kāvya*, Jayadeva says that he is writing a '*prabandba*': "*Śrī vāsudeva-rati-keli-kathā-sametametaṃ karoti jayadeva-kaviḥ prabandhaṃ*" (I.2).[1] We have thus an evidence of the *prabandha* form of vocal music from about the 11th century A.D.

"We would do well, first of all, to ascertain the meaning of the word '*dhruva*'. The word means 'fixed', 'determinate', 'definite'. *Dhruvapada*, therefore, means a song in which the *padas* or words are well-set in a definite structure or pattern. While it is difficult to find â regular use of *dhruvapada* earlier than the fifteenth century, *dhruva* in the sense of a definitely set pattern of a song is, at least, as old as Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Commenting in the word *dhruva* in "*gānaṃ-pañcavidhaṃ jñeyaṃ-dhruvāyoga-samanvitaṃ*". In the 30th stanza of the 6th chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Abhinavagupta comments: "*dhruvā gītyādhāro niyataḥ pada-samūhaḥ*" (p. 270, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Barodā). *Dhruvā* means the basis of song in which words are set according to a definite pattern. The word '*dhruvā*' occurs in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and not *dhruva*, because it has been used as an adjective of *gīti* which is feminine. Bharata himself was concerned only with the *dhruvās* that were of

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1 The commentator, Pūjārī Goswāmī has also said: "एतत श्रीगीतगोविन्दाख्यं प्रवन्धं प्रकर्षेण वाध्यते श्रोतृणां हृदयमस्मिन्निति प्रवन्धस्त करोति प्रकाशयति"।

use in the drama, but he admitted that there were *dhruvās* of other kinds also:

Yā ṛcaḥ pāṇikā gāthā saptarūpāṅgameva ca/
Saptarūpa-pramāṇaṃ ca tadhruvetyabhisañjitaṃ//
—NS. Kāvyamālā ed. p. 532

"He says that all the *ṛcas*, *pānikas* and *gāthās* are '*dhruva*'. Again he admits that there are many varieties of *dhruva* according to *jāti*, *sthāna*, *prakāra*, *pramāṇa* and *nāma*:

Jātisthānaṃ pramāṇañca prakāro nāma caiva hi/
Jñeyā dhruvāṇāṃ nātyajñairvikalpāḥ pañcahetukāḥ//
—NS. Vārāṇasī ed. p. 416.

* * *Dhruva*, in the sense of a musical composition of a definite pattern, is very old. Only as adjective of *gīti* it was known as *dhruvā*; as an adjective of *pada*, it is known as *dhruva*. With regard to the musical pattern of the various *dhruvas*, used in Bharata's time, it is difficult to say what it was like, for we have no definite example of it before us. And so we cannot say whether there was any *dhruva* in Bharata's time which was similar to modern *dhruvapada* as a piece of musical composition.

"But the structure of *prabandha*, as given in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, is fairly clear. Let us see what Śāraṅgdeva has to say on this composition:

प्रबन्धावयव धातुः स चतुर्धा निरूपितः ।
प्रथमस्तत्र ... ...
उद्ग्राहः प्रथमो भागस्ततो मेलापकः स्मृतः ।।
ध्रुवत्वाच्च ध्रुवः पश्चादाभोगस्त्वन्तिमो मतः ।
ध्रुवाभोगान्तरे जातो धातुरन्योन्तराधिपः ॥
स तु सालगसूडस्थरूपकेष्वेव दृश्यते ।

"What is *dhruva*? Kallinātha says: "ध्रुयत्यात् नित्यत्वादित्यर्थः सकलप्रबन्धेष्वनपायात्। तेन द्विधातुषु प्रबन्धेषु मेलापकाभोगयोस्त्रिधातुषु प्रवन्धेषु सर्वत्र मेलापकस्यैष परित्यागः। ध्रुवस्य न क्वचिदपि परित्यागः"। Simhabhupāla adds: "ध्रुवत्वान्निश्चलत्वादिति। उद्ग्राहानन्तरमाभोगान्तर च गानात्।" *Dhruva* is so called because it is a permanent or immovable component of a *prabandha*, and also because it is repeated after *udgrāha* and *ābhoga* i.e. it is the refrain of the song. In a *prabandha* which consists of only two *dhātus*, *melāpaka* and *ābhoga* are eliminated, but *udgrāha* and *dhruva* must be there; in a *prabandha* of three *dhātus*, *melāpaka* may be eliminated, but not *dhruva*. * *

"The *prabandha* form of music enjoyed great popularity upto the 13th century. From the fourteenth century, *dhruvapada* began to take its place. *Dhruvapada* was in its hey-day from the 15th to 18th century. The *prabandha* form slowly disappeared. It only survived for some time as an antique curio in some of the Vaiṣṇavite temples. * * It is thus clear that *dhruvapada* has evolved out of the *prabandha*. Paṇḍit Bhātkhaṇḍe quotes in his *Comparative Study of Some of the Leading Musical Systems*, the *lakṣaṇa* of *dhruvapada* as given by Bhāvabhaṭṭa in his *Anūpa-saṅgīta-ratnākara*. Bhāvabhaṭṭa was employed in the court of Anūp Singh, the Ruler of Bikāner from 1674-1709 A.D. The quotation is reproduced below:

अथ ध्रुवपद-लक्षणम्।
गीर्वाणमध्यदेशीयभाषासाहित्यराजितम्।
द्विचतुर्वाक्यसम्पन्नं नरनारीकथाश्रयम्।
शृङ्गाररस-भावाद्यं रागालापपदात्मकम्॥
पादान्तानुप्रासयुक्तं पादान्तयुगवां च वा॥
प्रतिपादं यत्र वद्धमेवं पादवतुष्टयम्।
उद्ग्राहध्रुवकाभोगान्तरं ध्रुवपदं स्मृतम्॥

' "The most interesting thing in this quotation is that though the names of the component parts of *dhruvapada* had changed since the 15th century, Bhāvabhaṭṭa, even in 17th century is describing *dhruvapada* in terms of *prabandha*, viz. *udgrāha*, *dhruva*, *antara* and *ābhoga*. This is a further proof of the fact that *dhruvapada* evolved out of the *prabandha*. * * In conclusion, it may be said that *dhruvapada* is an evolved form of *prabandha* style. In it, the musical idea stretches its wings in the *sthāyī*, soars up in the *antarā*, goes in the *sañcarī*, and finally with a broad sweep of notes in the *ābhoga* furls down its wings".

CHAPTER X

THE EVOLUTION OF KHEYĀL AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

Kheyāl or *khyāl* (*kheyāl* in Bengali and *khyāl* in Hindi and Urdu) seems to be an Arabic term, meaning 'thought', 'imagination', 'fancy', 'ideation', 'imaginative conception', 'respect', 'understanding', etc., and, therefore, *kheyāl* or *khyāl* connotes the idea of some sort of song or verse which is imaginative and conceptual in its nature, or an execution at will, and this word or term has been imported to India through the medium of Persian language. In fact, the term *kheyāl* or *khyāl* or *khiyāl* connotes the ideas of imagination and imaginative composition, and from the meaning or connotation it can further be inferred that *kheyāl* or *khyāl* is imaginative in conception, artistic and decorative in execution and romantic in appeal. Its theme or subject-matter is interpretative, and its form and method of excution are classico-romantic. In comparison with the *dhruvapada-prabandha* type of songs, the *kheyāl-prabandha* is imaginative and creative, whereas *dhruvapada* is concentrative, contemplative and majestic.

Controversy rages round the origin or evolution of *kheyāl* or *khyāl*, and its term or name. Various theories have been advanced in this regard: (1) First, some trace its origin or evolution to *qāwālī* or *qāvvālī* type of regional love-cum-devotional songs. They are of opinion that some wandering Qāwāl or Qāvvāl singers were already in existence in different parts of Northern India, even before the time of Sultān Ālā-ud-dīn Khaljī and Āmīr Khasrau or

Āmīr Khasroo, who lived in the 13th-14th century A.D., during Sultān Ālā-ud-dīn's reign. The term *kheyāl* or *khyāl* was derived from the name *qāwālī* or *qāvvālī*, —a type of song of those wandering Qāwāls. (2) Second, some say that the result of admixture of decorative principle and word-structure of melody gave rise to the new and novel form of *kheyāl*. (3) Third, some hold that from the musical composition (*prabandha*), *kaivāḍa*, possessed of three musical parts (*dhātus*) and *bhāvanī-jāti* with three limbs (*aṅgas*) of the 12th-13th century A.D., evolved the new form of *kheyāl*. (4) Fourth, some scholars are of opinion that not only *kaivāḍa*, but other *prabandhas* like *ekatālī* and *rāsaka* are also the fountain-head of *kheyāl*. (5) Fifth, some others again argue that *kheyāl* was designed after the *śāstric ākṣiptikā*, which has been described by Śārańgdeva in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. The *ākṣiptikā* is akin to *pallavi* of the South Indian system of music.

There are again differences of opinion regarding the innovator or originator of *kheyāl*. Some say that the Indo-Persian scholar, Āmīr Khasrau (Khasroo) was an accomplished musician as well as a musicologist, and that he himself was conversant with the popular type of song, the *qāwālī* or *qāvvālī* of the Qāwāls. It is said that he introduced *kheyāl* with a particular style of execution among the music-loving people of the then society. But most of the scholars have refuted this view, and consequently there arose some controversial theories regarding the innovator of *kheyal*. Captain Willard has said in his *Treatise on the Music of Hindostān* (1834) that *kheyāl* or *khyāl* was composed chiefly in the language, spoken in the district of Khyrābād, * * "Sooltān Hoosyan Sharque of Jaunpur was the innovator of this class of song". A. H. Fox-

Strangways has said in his *Music in Hindostān* (1914) that the commonest type of *kheyāl* was a later form of *dhruvapada* or *dhrupad*, supposed to have emanated from Muhammed (Sultān) Sharque in 1401-1440 A.D. Some hold that it was Sultān Hussain Sharque who developed *kheyāl* on the basis of an older form of folk song that was prevalent in North India in the early part of the mediaeval times. But most of the scholars are of opinion that neither Āmīr Khasrau nor Sultān Hussain Sharque was the innovator of *kheyāl*, but it was an outcome of the gradual process of evolution that was at work during the reign of any one of the Sultāns like Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, Zālāl-ud-dīn Firuz, Ālā-ud-dīn Khaljī and the Tughluq Rulers, supported by the inventive geniuses of the Muslim and Indo-Persian musicians. Some others again maintain that it was Niyāmat Khān, *sadārang*, the court-musician of Sultān Muhammed Shāh of the 18th century A.D., who really designed the novel type of *kheyāl* either on the structures of some old *śāstric prabandhas* or on his individual genius, with the mixture of different languages of that time.

Now let us discuss the views, set forth above as to their soundness. Regarding the *prabandha*, *kaivāḍa*, which is recognised as the source of origin of *kheyāl* by some scholars, Śāraṅgdeva has said that *kaivāḍa* is possessed of two *dhātus*, *dhruvā* and *udgrāha*, and it ends in *udgrāha*.

> Pāṭaiḥ syātāṃ dhruvādgrahau kaivāḍe nyāsanaṃ grahe/
> Sārthakair-arthahīnaśca pāṭaiḥ sa dvividho mataḥ//

The commentator Kallināth has explained *kaivāḍa* with its characteristics as; "*kaivāḍa iti karapāta-pradhānatvāt tadbhavo'pabhraṁśapadeneyaṃ sañjnā; karapātastu vādyādh-*

yāye vyakṣyante".[1] Siṁhabhupāla has mentioned that when *kaivāḍa-prabandha* is possessed of *pāta*, *akṣara* (letters) and *dhātus* like *dhruva* and *udgrāha*, and the *graha* ends in *udgrāha*, it is known as *kaivāḍa*: "*pātākṣarair-dhruvodgrāhau kártyavyau/ graha udgrābe samāptiryasya sa kaivāḍaḥ.*" *Kaivāḍa* is of two kinds, *sārthaka* and *anarthaka*, and these are again divided into two respectively.

From Kallināth's commentary we come to know that among the four varieties of the *kaivāḍa-prabandha*, the latter one or two are possessed of three music-parts (*dhātus*), and three *aṅgas* like *pāta*, *pada* and *tāla*, and so they belong to the category of the *bhāvanī-jāti*: "*pātapada-tāla-baddhatvātraṅgo bhāvanījātimān*". Regarding the *bhāvanī-jātī*, Siṁhabhupāla has said: "*tribhiraṅge-rūpanibaddhā bhāvanī*". However, from the text of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* we find that though the simple form the *kaivāḍa-prabandha* is possessed of two *dhātus* and two *aṅgas*, yet the mixed forms are not so, and, therefore, judging from all the forms of the *kaivāḍa-prabandha* it can be said that *kheyāl* or *khyāl* is not an offshoot or changed form of the *kaivāḍa-prabandha*.

Some say that *kheyāl* evolved from the *prabandhas* like *rāsaka* or *ekatālī*, because both the *prabandhas* are possessed

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1 Kallināth has further informed us that *kaivāḍa-prabandha* can be embellished with three *dhātus*, (including the *ābhoga-dhātu*, amputed with the names of the *netā* and the *gātā*, and then it will be included in the category of the *bhāvanī jāti*. But generally it is found that the *kaivāḍa-prabandha* is possessed of only two *dhātus*. Paṇḍit Ahobala has said in the *Saṅgīta-pārijāta*,

'Udgrāha-dhruvakau yasya pātaireva vinirmitau/
Padaiḥ kṛtvāntarābhogau kaivāḍo'tyanta śobhitaḥ//

—*Saṅgīta-pārijāta*, 555.

of two *dhātus*, and are included in the category of the *tārāvalī-jati*, possessed of two *aṅgas*. But this view seems to be untenable, because merely two *dhātus* of any ancient *prabandha* and two *dhātus* of *kheyāl* are not the sufficient reason and proof for the similarity of the said two types.

Further it is sometimes suggested that *kheyāl* or *khyāl* evolved from the settings of the *nibaddha* type of *ākṣiptikā* which is possessed of *svara* and *pada*: "*ākṣiptikā svara-pada-grathita kathitā vudhaiḥ*" (SR. II.26). The *mārga* type of *tāla* like *caccatputa* is used in *ākṣiptikā*. The form of *ākṣiptikā* is different from those of *ālāpa* and *rūpaka*, and this has clearly been explained by Kallināth, while commenting on the *śloka*: "* * *abhivyaktiryatra dṛṣtvā* * * *rūpakaṃ tadvadeva...vidārikaṃ*" (SR. II. 24-25). But *kheyāl* is not an off-shoot of the *nibaddha-gīta*, *ākṣiptikā* for many reasons, rather it can be said that the *rūpaka-prabandha* is the forerunner of *kheyāl*. Regarding the *rūpaka-prabandha*, Śāraṅgdeva has said,

Rāgeṇa dhātu-mātubhyāṃ tathā tāla-layauḍuvaiḥ//
Nūtanai rūpakaṃ nūtnaṃ rāgaḥ sthāyāntarairnavaḥ/

Regarding it, Kallināth has said: "*nūtana-rāgādi-nirmitatvādrūpakaṃ navaṃ bhavatītyarthaḥ/ rañjanādi-dharmayoge siddharūpāṇāṃ rāgādīnāṃ nūtanatvaṃ katha-mityākāṁkṣāyāmāha-rāgaḥ sthāyāntarairityādi*"/. Similarly Siṁhabhupāla has said: "*navena rāgena dhātu-mattvā-dibhiśca tānai-rūpakasya nūtanatvaṃ/* * * *rāgāṁśa-bhedena dhātusthāyāḥ sthāyāntarāṇi, tai rāgeṇa rāgo navo bhavati*"/. Further Śāraṅgdeva has said,

Dhātu rāgāṁśa-bhedena mātostu navatā bhavet/,
Pratipādyaviśeṣeṇa rasālaṁkāra-bhedataḥ/
Laya-graha-viśeṣeṇa tālānāṃ navatā matā//

From both the commentaries of Kallināth and Simhabhupāla we know: "*rāgāṃśabhedena dhāturnavo bhavati/ rasālaṁkāra-bhedena māturnavo bhavati/laya-graha-bhedena tālo navaḥ/tālo viśramvasya tulyena sāmyena viśrāmeṇa vā layo navaḥ/ chanda-ādibhirnavairacanā navā bhavati*". From these it is understood that the *rūpaka-prabandha* is a musical composition, which is novel and original in conception. The new forms of composition, rhythm, tempo, etc. are designed with different meters and aesthetic sentiments and moods. While comparing *kheyāl* with *rūpaka-prabandha*, Paṇḍit S. N. Ratanjankar has said: "*Khyāla* is a Persian word and in the context of our topic would mean imagination, a spontaneous idea, independent of traditional or accepted usages. The 'Roopakaṃ' a type of songs referred to in the old Sanskrit Granthas, appears to have in it the germs of style". Further he has said: "Roopakaṃ is a musical composition in which there is scope for creating novelty, something original out of the trodden path in the Rāga as well in the wordings of the composition, by emphasising passages which, though ordinarily occurring in the Rāga being sung, are prominent in some other sympathetic Rāga, by using fresh words expressing some emotion, by making changes in the Tāla and Laya. It may not therefore be too fantastic perhaps to consider the Kheyal as an off-shoot of the Roopakaṃ type of musical compositions. Within a short time after Śāraṅgdeva the old system of music was fast receding in the background and a new one in which influence of foreign music was beginning to rush in was coming into vogue".

This subject has been elaborately dealt by Ṭhākur Jaideva Singh. He has opened a new vistas of investigation into the origin of *kheyāl*. He has said about the

evolution of *kheyāl* or *khyāl*:] "It is supposed that Āmīr Khusroo started this style or composition, and it did not exist in Indian music before. Āmīr Khusroo flourished in the 13th century. Was there no indigenous style of composition in the 13th century which used all kinds of graces? Śāraṅgdeva's *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* was written in the 13th century itself. Let us turn to it for an answer to this question. Śāraṅgdeva mentions five types of musical composition viz. *śuddhā*, *bhinnā*, *gauḍī*, *vesarā* and *sādhāraṇī*. He says: "*śuddhā syādvakrair-lalitaiḥ svaraiḥ/ bhinnā vakraiḥ svaraiḥ sūkṣmair-madhurair-gamakairyutā*". The main contention of Ṭhākur Shāhib is that *kheyāl* or *khyāl* evolved or rather developed in a new and novel form from the ancient *śāstric sādhāraṇī-gīti*, and its charming style evolved from the *rūpakālapti* that was current in the 12th-13th century A.D. Ṭhākur Shāhib has stated about his personal view: "I maintain that the socalled *khyāl* style of musical composition is nothing but only a natural development of the *sādhāraṇī-gīti*, which used the exquisite features of all the styles. It is this *sādhāraṇī-gīti* with the predominant use of *bhinnā* in it that became the *khyāl*".

Now the type of *kheyāl* or *khyāl* is known by its special charming style or method of execution. In Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī*, we find five (even seven) kinds of *rāgagīti* which were possessed of different qualities as well as different methods of presentation. Śāraṅgdeva has also mentioned those *rāgagītis* in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* of the early 13th century A.D. Śāraṅgdeva has said that five *grāmarāgas*, accompained by five *gītis* or *rāgagītis*, were current even from Bharata's time (2nd century A.D.). Siṁhabhupāla has stated: "*grāmarāgāḥ pañca-prakāra*

bhavanti/ kena viśeṣeṇa teṣāṃ pañca-prakāratvaṃ? ata āha—pañca-gīti samāśrayāditi". Bharata has described four *grāmarāgas*, which were used in songs, accompanied by four *gītis* like *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, *sambhāvitā* and *pṛthulā*. (vide Siṁhabhupāla's commentary on Śāraṅgdeva's "*pañcadhā grāmarāgāḥ syuḥ*" etc., SR. Ādyar ed., vol. II, p. 4). Regarding the characteristic of those *gītis* (*rāgagītis*), Śāraṅgdeva has said:

"* * śuddhā syādvakrair-lalitaiḥ svaraiḥ/
Bhinnā vakraiḥ svaraiḥ sukṣmair-madhurair-
gamakairyutā//
Gāḍhaistristhāna-gamakairohati-lalitaiḥ svaraiḥ/
Akhaṇḍitasthitiḥ sthānatraye gauḍī matā satāṃ/
Ohāṭī kampitair-mandrair-mṛdu-drutataraiḥ svaraiḥ//
Hakāroukārayogeṇa hṛnnyaste civuke bhavet/
Vegavadbhiḥ svarair-varṇacatuṣke'pyatiraktitaḥ/
Vega-svarā rāgagītir-vesarā cocyate vudhaiḥ//
Caturgītigataṃ lakṣma śritā sādhāraṇī matā/

—*Ratnākara*, II. 3-7.

The *sādhāraṇī-gīti* was "an eclectic style of composition which included within itself the excellent points of all other four styles". It was more charming than all other styles, because it was full of *gamakas*, pleasant, tender with sweet idioms and delicate nuances of emotion (*kāku*). The *kheyāl* or *khyāl* "adopted the style for its composition i.e. it embodied within itself the excellent features of all the styles and had a predominance of the *bhinnā* style i.e. it exploited all the *gamakas* without bothering about their names, *khaṭkā*, *murkī*, *meend*, (*meeḍa*), *kampa*, *āndolana*—everything was beautifully woven in its structure".

Further it must be remembered that the embellishment of the *kheyāl* is somewhat similar to that of the ancient *śāstric rūpakālapti*. Now, what do we mean by a *rūpakālapti*? Śāraṅgdeva has defined *rūpakālapti* thus:

Rūpakasthena rāgeṇa tālena ca vidhīyate/
Yā proktā rūpakālaptiḥ sā punardvividhā bhavet//

—*Ratnākara*, III. 197.

Siṁhabhupāla has made it explicit when he has said: "*pravandhasthena rāgeṇa tālena copalakṣitā yā ālaptiḥ kriyate sā rūpakālaptiḥ*," i. e. when *ālapti* or *ālāpa* is accompanied by *rāga* and *tāla*, contained in a *prabandha*, it is called the *rūpakālapti*. Again what do we mean by an *ālapti*? Siṁhabhupāla has said: "*yena svara-sandarbheṇa rāgaḥ prakaṭīkriyate sā ālaptī/sā dividhā, rāgālaptiḥ rūpakālaptiśca/* * * *yā rūpaka-prabandhe elā-maṇṭhādyanapekṣa pravartate sā rāgālaptiḥ/sā caturbhiḥ* * *" (vide the detailed commentary, SR., III. 197 and the Adyar ed. of SR., vol. II, p. 178). The *rūpakālapti* was the creative and imaginative song (*manodharmī-saṅgīta*), whereas the *rāgālapti* was purely a technical one. The *rūpakālapti* was again divided into two, *pratigrahanikā* and *rūpakabhañjanī*. Siṁhabhupāla has further given the definitions of the two *bhañjanīs* as: (1) "*yasyāmālaptau rūpakaḥ saṁsthitaḥ prabandhāśrito yaḥ sthāya-varṇo'vayavastasya prabandhasya padamānena nānā-prakāro'neka-bhaṅgikaḥ kriyate, sā sthāya-bhañjanī/ rūpaka-bhañjanī lakṣayati—taiḥ padairiti/taiḥ prabandhasthai padaiḥ; tena prabandhasthena mānena samagrameva rūpakamanythānyath bhaṅgi-viśeṣeṇa yasyāmālaptau-gamako gāyet, sā rūpaka-bhañjanī*" (p, 180). The term *sthāya* connotes the idea of melodic phrase or a phrase of a musical composition. But the word *sthāya*, that occurs in the *sthāya-bhañjanī*, means "a part of the composition itself".

From the commentary of Siṁhabhupāla it is understood that the *sthāya-bhañjanī* connotes the idea of a well-marked creative imagination, whereas the *rūpaka-bhañjanī* means that an artist "is not tied down to the *tānas*, occurring only in the composition that he is embellishing or singing, but also uses other *tānas* ('*tānāntaraiḥ*'), appropriate to that particular *rāga*, embellished with *gamakas*, etc.". So by a close observation it is found that the embellishments, rendered in the *kheyāl* or *khyāl* type of songs, were also used with the *śāstric bhañjanīs*, *sthāya* and *rūpaka*.

Regarding *ākṣiptikā*, *rūpaka* and *ālapti*, as mentioned previously, I would like to draw the attention of the readers to Kallināth's commentary on the *śloka*: "*abhivyaktiryata dṛṣtā sa rāgālāpa ucyate/rūpakaṃ tadvadeva* * * *ākṣiptikā svara-pada-grathitā* * * " (SR., II. 24-25). There Kallināth has drawn the marks of distinction among those three musical elements, and has said: "*ayamarthaḥ—apanyāseṣva-viramyaikākāreṇa pravṛtta ālāpaḥ, sa evāpanyāseṣu viramya viramya pravṛttaṃ rūpakamiti/ākṣiptiketi nibaddha-gītibhedaḥ/* * * *svara-pada-grathitā, ṣaḍjādisvaropetaiḥ padaiḥ padārtha-vācakaiḥ śabder-grathitā racitā/pada tālādyākṣipta-tvādākṣiptiketyanvarthā/vudhair-mataṅgādibhiḥ kathitā*" (p. 21). The *rūpakālapti* is sometimes different in its nature and embellishment from those of *ākṣiptikā*, pure *rūpaka* and *ālāpa* or *ālapti*. And it has also been shown a distinction between a *prabandha* and a *rūpaka*, because a *prabandha* lays emphasis upon the beauty of 'form' and a *rūpaka* on the beauty of 'creative fancy'. So, regarding evolution of *kheyāl* or *khyāl*, it can be said that it developed upon the already existing ancient structure of the *sādhāraṇī-gīti*, having its basis on *rūpakālapti* for the imaginative and creative style.

So *kheyāl* is neither altogether a new or foreign importation in Indian music, nor did Āmīr Khusrau invent it in the 13th century A. D., rather it was current mostly among the Muslim musicians of the Arab-Persian stock, known as the Kāwāls. The Kāwāls were adepts in the art and culture of *qāwāli* type of regional songs in rapid tempo (*druta laya*), and their fanciful mode of singing used to employ only '*qaula*.' "The word *quala*," says Ṭhākur Jaideva Singh, "means the same as the Sanskrit word *vācana*. Though both *qaula* and *vācana* are words of wide application, meaning only word or statement, in music both of them have got a restricted sense. Just as in Hinduism, singing a *vācana* or *vāṇī* or *śabda* means singing a mystic or devotional song, even so in Islam *quvvālī* or singing *qaula* means a mystic song in accordance with the orthodox belief of Islam". It is a historical fact that Amīr Khusrau was much interested in *qāwālī* or *quvvālī*, and he mastered this type as well as composed many imaginative verses or songs. He also admitted this fact in his monumental work, *Nuḥ Sipir*. Daulat Shāh has mentioned in his *Account* the personal statement of Khusrau thus: "I have written three volumes of poetry, and my musical compositions (*qāwālī*, *gazal*, etc.) would also amount to three volumes, if they could be reduced to writing". Āmīr Khusrau flourished in the 13th century A. D., and at the same time Śāraṅgdeva flourished and composed his epoch-making treatise on music, *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (early 13th century). Amīr Khusrau was a man of extraordinary merit and intelligence, and he was well-versed in Urdu, Hindi, Persian, Sanskrit, and other languages. So it might be the fact that, being a scholar and a music-loving man himself, he was quite aware of the colourful form of the *śāstric sādhāraṇī-rāgagīti*, together

with the imaginative style of the *rūpakālapti*, full of so much embellishment, as described in Śāraṅgdeva's *Ratnākara*. It is most probable that he thought it better to designate the fanciful type and style of *qāwālī* of his time as *kheyāl* or *khyāl* for better understanding and sweet rendering. But we do not know whether he can be credited for doing that. And if that be so, then it is also possible that the newly introduced type and style gradually attracted the attention of all music and beauty-loving peoples of that time and, consequently attained refinement through gradual novel process during the time of the Sharquī Rulers in the 15th century A.D.

The Sharquī Rulers were great lovers as well as patrons of fine arts like architecture, painting and music, and so it can be assumed that *kheyāl* or *khyāl* got their support, and it was much improved and better understood during the time of Sultān Husain Sharquī. During Akbar's time, in the 16th-17th century A.D., it was also nurtured by top-ranking musicians of refined and elegant taste, and it is said that the master musicians like Sūraj Khān, Chānd Khān, Bāz Bāhādur, Rupamatī and others of the time were much interested in the culture of *kheyāl*, though it did not enjoy Royal patronage like *dhruvapada*, and, therefore, it remained outside the pale of Royal courts and aristocratic societies of the time. A very few scholar again believe that *kheyāl* was appreciated by the Muslim Rulers and even by Akbar himself. It might be possible that *kheyāl* was much appreciated by the musicians, music-lovers and even by the kings and the Royal families. Let me quote in this connection some suggestions, made by one of the connoisseurs of music, Ṭhākur Jaideva Singh. He has said: "Since

the style was ornate and romantic, it did not find favour in the temples. It was mostly patronised by the Kathiks, the dancing girls and kings. The Sharquī kings of Jaunpur patronised this style to a great extent in the 14th-15th century. It was quite popular in the 16th century. There is in Braja Bhāṣā a very important work, called *Chaurāśī Vaiṣṇavān-kī Vārtā*. This was compiled by Śrī Gokulanātha, the grandson of Śrī Vallabhācārya. In the life of Kṛṣṇadāsa Adhikārī, who was the accountant of Śrī Nātha temple, he mentions an interesting incident: "*jaura eka samaya śrīnāthjīke bhāṇḍārame......khyāl ṭappā gāyata huti jaura.........sau kṛṣṇadās bāzārme tāmāsai me jāya ṭhaḍe bhaya*". The passage is a long one. I have quoted only the relevant portion which shows that *khyāl* was sung at that time. * * Śrī Vallabhācārya flourished in the 16th century. The incident mentioned above, therefore, relates to some date in the 16th century". From this it is evident that the *kheyāl* or *khyāl* singing was much appreciated in the society during the Mahammedan period, and it was warmly appreciated by the musicians as well as music-lovers even during the time of the Emperor Akbar. And it might be quite possible that Emperor Akbar was also an appreciator of the ornate and romantic style of *kheyāl*, though some are of opinion that *kheyāl* or *khyāl* singing was not patronised by the Emperor.

But *kheyāl* gradually attracted the minds of the beauty-loving artists, the later Sultāns and Royal families. The *kheyāl* was highly develoved during the time of Sultān Muhammed Shāh in 1719-1748 A.D., under the able guidance of Niyāmat Khān, who was an adept in both *dhruvapada* and *veeṇā*. Niyāmat Khān won the title of

'*sadāraṅg*' from Sultān Muhammed Shāh for his great talents and theoretical and praetical knowledge in classical music. It is a fact that Niyāmat Khān, *sadāraṅg* designed the elegant classical form of *kheyāl* in a majestic and colourful slow tempo (*vilambita laya*) like *dhruvapada*. It has already been said that he designed *kheyāl* either on the basis of some *śāstric prabandha-gītis*, as delineated in the ancient *Saṅgīta-śāstras*, or innovated it absolutely in a new and novel form, based on the somewhat reformed type of *kheyāl* that already existed in the society. Truly speaking, Niyāmat Khān, *sadāraṅg* hightened the classical form of *kheyāl*, and made it to be appreciated by the top-ranking musicians and Royal sovereigns of that time. Thence from, it attained the similar high position as enjoyed by *dhruvapada*, and gradually came to be developed with many modifications and changes in forms and styles and decorative elements even upto the present time. In the 19th-20th century, there evolved some colourful novel styles in *kheyāl* through individual efforts-cum-methods of execution or embelishment, and they were named after noted places (seats of culture) and artists. To name a few: *Gwālior-gharāṇā*, *Āgrā-gharāṇā*, *Jaipur-gharāṇā*, *Pātiyālā-gharāṇā*, *Kirāṇā-gharāṇā*, *Āllādīyā khān-gharāṇā*, etc. Different kinds of *gamaka*, subtle *tāna*, *meeḍa*, *bol* or *vāṇī*, *laya* (tempo), etc. were the salient features constituting their differences.

The Evolution of the Gharāṇās:

In fact, the *gharāṇās* or different methods or schools of embelishment or improvisation of the classical songs did not only evolve through the medium of culture of the *kheyāl* type of songs, but also evolved in connection with the *dhruvapada* of different *vāṇīs* as well as with different

methods of recitals of the musical instruments like *veeṇā*, *sitār*, etc. From the historical records of Indian music of the mediaeval time, and specially of the Muhammedan period, we come to know that mainly two *gharāṇās* evolved during or after the reign of Ālāud-dīn Khaljī, the noted Pāthān Ruler, and they were: (i) the *kalāwanta-gharāṇā* and (ii) the *qāwāl-gharāṇā*. (i) The *kalāwanta-gharāṇā* was established by Baiju Bāwarā (or Bāorā), who was quite a different man from Baijunāth, the court-musician of Akbar and Bṛja Chānd, the disciple of Swāmī Haridāsa. It is said that the *kalāwanta-gharāṇā* was maintained and propagated by Nāyaka Gopālalāl, who hailed from South India. (ii) The *qāwāl-gharāṇā* was founded by Āmīr Khusrau, the court-poet of Ālāud-dīn Khaljī. It is said that this *gharāṇā* was also patronised by Sultān Hussian Sharquī of Jaunpur. The noted singers of the *qāwāl* or *quāwāl* and *tārāṇā* types of songs as well as the instrumentalists of that time were included in these two *gharāṇās*.

Later on, says B.N. Roychoudhury, a third *gharāṇā* was established by the instrumentalists, who used to play on *senai* and *tabal*. "With the increase of the number of female singers and dancing girls in the Royal court, there arose a fourth *gharāṇā* of the instrumentalists accompanying them. The Ustāds of the third and the fourth *gharāṇās* were called Mirāsīs and Ḍhādīs."[1]

After the death of Miāṅ Tānsen, the Senī school of music (*Senī-gharāṇā*) evolved with its three main aspects; (1) the first type of the *Senī-gharāṇā* was formed by Tānsen's youngest son, Bilāsasen (or Bilāsa Khān, the *tāna-*

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1 Vide *Hindusthānī Music and Miāṅ Tānsen* (Cal.), p. 25.

taraṅga) at the Delhi Durbar. That *gharāṇā* represented the *gauḍī-vāṇī* of *dhruvapada*. (2) The second type of the *Senī-gharāṇā* was formed by Tānsen's another son, Suratasen, who used to sing *dhruvapada* in *dāgara-vāṇī*. His discendants subsequently settled at Jaipur. (3) The third type of the *Senī-gharāṇā* was formed by Miśrī Singh, the son of Mahārāj Samokhan Singh and the husband of Sarasvatī Devī, the daughter of Miāṅ Tānsen. Miśrī Singh's discendants formed the main school of *veeṇā* recital, and used to present *dhruvapada* in both the *dāgara-vāṇī* and *khāṇḍāra-vāṇī*. Besides these three types of *Senī-gharāṇā*, the other famous *gharāṇās* were established by Brija Chānd and Suradāsa at Mathurā, whose disciples were the Brāhmiṇ priests, while Chānd Khān and Suraj Khān were the founders of *tilmaṇḍī-gharāṇā* of *dhruvapada* in Punjab.

To give the list of the main *gharāṇās*, let me take the privilege of quoting the list, forwarded by the noted Veeṇkāra and musicologist, B. N. Roychoudhury of Gaurīpur in his booklet, *Hindusthāni Music and Miāṅ Tānsen*:

"1. *The Senī-gharāṇā* of *dhruvapada* and *rabāb*, formed by three great brothers, Jāffar Khān, Payār Khān and Bāsat Khān of Lucknow and Vārāṇasī.

2. *The Senī-veeṇkāra-gharāṇā*, laid by Nirmal Shāh of Lucknow.

3. The *Qāwāl-gharāṇā*, laid by Baḍe Md. Khān Kāwāl of Lucknow and Gwālior.

4. The *Gwālior-gharāṇā* of *kheyāl*, formed by the two great Kheyāliyās, Hassu Khān and Nātthu Khān.

5. The *Āgrā-gharāṇā* of *dhāmār*, formed by the descendants of Khān (Dhāmār) and who later on became disciple of Shāh Sadāraṅg.
6. The *Betiyā-gharāṇā* of *dhruvapada*, formed by the disciples of Hāidār Khān Senī of Lucknow, who were the Kathakas of Vārāṇasī as well as Muslim Ustāds of Kalpī.
7. The *Biṣṇupur-gharāṇā* of *dhruvapada*, formed by Rāmaśaṅkar Bhattācārya.
8. The *Tilmaṇḍī-gharāṇā* of Panjabī *dhruvapada* singers.
9. The *Lāhore-gharāṇā* by the Punjābī Kheyālīyās, disciples of Shāh Sadāraṅg.
10. The *Atarulī-gharāṇā* of *dhruvapada* and *kheyāl*, founded by the Brāhmiṇs of Mathurā, who embraced Islam later on.
11. The *Dāgar-gharāṇā*, founded by Bāirām Khān, a great scholar and Dhrupadīyā, and who was a descendant of a priestly line of Mathurā.
12. The *Senī-gharāṇā* of *sitār* of Jaipur, founded by the celebrated Amrita Sen.
13. The *Sarode-gharāṇā* of Shāhārānpur, disciples of Omrāo-Khān, a son of Nirmal Shāh Senī.
14. The *Sarode-gharāṇā*, founded by Niyāmutullā Khān, a disciple of Bāsat Khān Senī.
15. The *Sitār-gharāṇā* of Lucknow, founded by Golām Md. Khān, a disciple of Omrāo Khān Senī".

Further mention can be made about the *Rāmpur-gharāṇā*, the latest *gharāṇā* of India. This beautiful *gharāṇā* was founded by Bāhādur Hussain and Āmīr Khān,

who were possessed of some special charms in the use of *ālāpa*, *dhruvapada*, *dhāmār* and in instrumental music. But it should be mentioned that during the time of Hāidar Āli Khān of the Rāmpur State, the disciples of Bāhādur Hussain or Āmir Khān were followers of other *gharāṇās*, but they changed their old style (*gharāṇā*) and were influenced by the styles of their masters and thus became identified with the *Rāmpur-gharāṇā*.

The Development and Culture of the Dhruvapada in Bengal:

Now, let us briefly survey the development and culture of *kheyāl* in Bengal. By 'development and culture of *kheyāl* in Bengal', I mean the historical development and proper culture of Hindusthānī type of *kheyāl* in Bengal. A close study as well as survey of the history of music of Bengal reveals that the Hindusthānī type of *kheyāl* was introduced in Bengal not more than fifteen or twenty decades ago, though the age-long Hindu-Mohammedan traditional culture of *dhruvapada* existed in Greater Bengal from the 15th-16th century A.D. The Greater Bengal comprised whole of undivided Bengal, Assam or Kāmarūpa, Behar and Orissā. Śrī Chaitanya appeared during the period intervening the last quarter of the 15th century and first quarter of the 16th century A.D., and during his time, Svarūpa-Dāmodara, Rāy Rāmānanda and other talented Vaiṣṇava savants were fully conversant with the Hindu-Muslim classical music. Most of them were both musicians and musicologists. The authentic book on music, *Gītaprakāśa* was written by the Vaiṣṇava savant of the Gauḍīya sect, Swāmi Kṛṣṇadās in the first half of the 16th century i.e. during the time of Rāmānanda Rāy and

Pratāparūdra-Gajapati. During the latter part of the 16th century, Ṭhakur Narottamadās introduced the new mode of *rasa* or *līlā kīrtana* on the basis of slow or *bilamvita dhruvapada*, which used to be sung in the *gaḍerhāṭi* or *garānhāṭi* style. Besides, many Vaiṣṇava savants like Harinārāyaṇa Suri, Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva of the Khemudi line, Kavi Nārāyaṇa and others wrote books on music which go to prove the genuine culture of classical music in Bengal. Narottamadās, Ghanasyāma Naraharidās and others learnt classical music from both the Hindu and Muslim Ustāds of that time. But it should be noted in this connection that even then the Hindusthānī type of *kheyāl* had not been introduced in Bengal.

From the early 18th century, classico-Bengali songs like *ṭappā* and *ṭap-kheyāl* were introduced by Kavirañjana Rāmaprasād Sen, Bhārata Chandra, Rāmanidhi Gupta or Nidhu Bābu and others. The *ṭap-kheyāl* was a type of song which used to be sung after the style of somewhat *tappā* and *kheyāl* mixed, and this type of classico-Bengali songs still exist in Bengal. Many musicians and composers like Haru Ṭhākur, Dewān Raghunāth Rāy, Dewān Rāmadulāl, Rāma Basu and others appeared in Bengal and enriched the treasury of Bengali songs by their valuable compositions. Though the Hindusthānī *kheyāl* was not in practice at that time, yet, as has been said before, the neo-classical charming and romantic types of *ṭappā* and *ṭap-kheyāl*, having rich artistic and aesthetic sentiments and feelings, were in practice, and they were known as the 'Bengal style of music'. Specially Rāmanidhi Gupta brought a renaissance in the classico-Bengali songs by composing and improvising new type of *ṭappā*, and from this it can be presumed that *ṭappā* was introduced in

Bengal earlier than Hindusthānī *kheyāl*, and that Bengal of the 18th-19th century had her full share of the legacy of traditional music, which came to be known as the aristocratic *vaiṭhakī saṅgīta.*

The period of hundred years, extending from 1800 to 1900 A.D. witnessed another renaissance in the domain of classico-Bengali songs, when different traditional *rāgas* like *vasanta*, *gaurī*, *pūravī* or *pūrvī*, *sāhānā*, *vāgeśvarī*, *luma*, *khāmbāj*, *multāna* or *bhimpālaśrī*, etc. and different *tālas* like *yat* of eight *mātrās*, *āḍāṭhekā* of 16 *mātrās*, *madhyamāna* of 32 *mātrās*, medium *ekatāla*, divided into four parts, having three *mātrās* in each part, *āḍā*, *poṣtā*, etc. were composed and cultured on one side, and the seed of Hindusthānī *kheyāl* was sowed on the soil of Bengal on the other. As on one side the composers and musicians like Dāsarathi Rāy, Rasika Chandra Rāy, Manomohan Basu, Śrīdhar Kathak, Govinda Adhikāry and others appeared and enriched the classico-Bengali songs like *pāñcāli*, *ṭappā*, *tap-kheyāl*, etc. through the medium of *kṛṣṇa-yātrā*, *kathakatā*, *rāmāyaṇa-gāna*, *jhumura*, *kavigāna*, *tarjā*, etc., so on the other towns like Chinsurā, Hooghly, Srirāmpore, Uttarapāḍā, Nadīā, Krishṇanagar, Murshidābād, Govardāṅgā, Vishṇupur-Bāṅkurā, Nātore, Mymensingh, Gaurīpore, Daccā, Āssām-Gaurīpore, Āgaratolā, Comillā, Calcutta and its adjacent places became gradually the seats of culture of classical music like *dhruvapada* and *kheyāl*, owing to the advent of a host of Hindu and Muslim Ustāds like Mān Khān, Baḍe Miāṅ, Hassu Khān, Hardu Khān, Delwār Khān, Nobi Kāwāl Miran, Rahim Bux, Mohammed Khān, Āli Bux, Kakubha Khān, Niyāmat-ullā Khān, Daulat Khān, Nānne Khān, Uzir Khān, Kāle Khān, Bāsat Khān, Morād-āli Khān, Ālādiyā Khān, Ābdul Karim Khān, Imdād Husain

Khān, Sājjād Muhammed Khān, Āmir Khān, Maulā Bux, Faiyāz Khān, Rajav Āli Khān, Rahamat Khān, Ālā-ud-dīn Khān, Enāyet Husain Khān, Kāssem-āli Khān, Khālifā Bādal Khān, Paṇḍit Vishṇu Digāmbar, Paṇḍit Vishṇu Nārāyaṇa Bhātkhaṇḍe, Bhāskar Roy Buā, Rāmchandra Seal of Chinsurā, Gopāl Chandra Pāṭhak, Rāmśaṅkar Banerji, Śiva Nārāyaṇa Miśra, Kāśināth Miśra, Viśvanāth Rāo, Hanumāndāsjī of Gayā, Sonijī, Lakṣmī Prasād, Bhāiyā Shāhib Ganapat Rāo, Maizud-dīn Khān, Aghore Nāth Chakravurty, Jadu Bhaṭṭa, Prasād Mukherji or Nulo Gopāl, Kṣetra Mohan Goswāmī, Rādhikā Mohan Goswāmī, Krishṇadhone Banerji, Anantalāl Banerji, Kāliprasanna Banerji, Vāmācharaṇ Banerji, Rāmaprasanna Banerji, Gopeśwara Banerji, Lālchānd Baḍāl, Surendra Nāth Mazumdar, Girijā Śaṅkar Chakravurty and others. All these stalwart musicians helped much to promote the culture of classical Hindusthānī music like *dhruvapada* and *kheyāl* alike. Zeminders and noted music-lovers like Rājā Jatīndra Mohan Tagore, Sir Saurīndra Mohan Tagore, Rājā Brajendra Kishore Roychoudhury, Seṭh Duli Chānd Bābu, Śyāmlal Kṣetrī, Mahārājā of Nātore, Sūrya Kānta Ācārya of Muktāgāchā, Sāradā Prasanna Mukherji of Govardāṅgā, Veer Bikrama Bāhādur, Lālchand Baḍāl, Bhupendra Nāth Ghose of Pāthuriāghāṭā and others patronised the culture of not only *kheyāl*, but also of *dhruvapada* in Bengal.

It should be mentioned in this connection that though *kheyāl* gradually got firm footing on the soil of Bengal from the 19th century, yet the culture of *dhruvapada* was much appreciated than *kheyāl* by majority of music-loving people of Bengal. The Hindusthānī *kheyāl* was first introduced in Bengal by expert exponents like Aghore Nāth Chakravurty of Harinābhī, Prasād Mukherji or Nulo

Gopāl of Calcutta, Śiva Nārāyaṇa Miśra, Paṇḍit Guru Prasād Miśra and their able contemporaries. Though Aghore Nāth Chakravurty and Nulo Gopāl were specially proficient in *dhruvapada*, yet were accomplished Kheyāliyās as well. They taught their students slow *kheyāl* with *vilamvita gamaka-tāna*, and they themselves neither used, nor did they teach their pupils the *druta halaka-tānas* in *kheyāl*. Paṇḍit Śiva Nārāyaṇa Miśra and Guru Prasād Miśra were noted Kheyāliyās at that time in Bengal, and they should also be given credit for introducing the Hindusthānī *kheyāl* in Bengal, Aghore Nāth Chakravurty, Rādhikā Mohan Goswāmī, Surendranāth Mazumdar, Nikuñja Behāri Dutt of Śivpur, Harendra Nath Seal and others also composed many Bengali songs and improvised them in purely Hindusthānī style. It is said that Ustād Rahamat Khān, and afterwards Ustād Ābdul Karim Khān introduced *ālāpa* in *kheyāl*, and the system of improvisation of *sargams* (*svaragrāmas*) in *kheyāl* was also introduced by Ustād Ābdul Karim Khān, and this system or method is still prevalent in *kheyāl* in Bengal. The name of Vīshṇu Chakravurty, the music-teacher of Kaviguru Rabīndranāth may be mentioned in this connection for the introduction of both Bengali and Hindusthānī *kheyāls* in the Brāhma-Samāj in Calcutta.

Before Ustād Kāle Khān came to Calcutta, the noted Kheyāliyā Ustād Nānne Khān became very popular. He also introduced *kheyāl* in slow, medium and rapid tempi among the musicians of Bengal. It is said that Ustāds Nānne Khān, Kāle Khān and Maizud-dīn Khān practically introduced the *druta halaka-tāna* in *kheyāl* for the first time in Bengal. Gaohār Jān and many others learnt *kheyāl* from Ustād Kāle Khān, and along with the names of Nasirud-dīn

Khān, Hanumāndasjī of Gayā, Ustād Faiyāz Khān of the *Raṅgile gharāṇā* of Agrā, Ustād Ābdul Karim Khān of the *kirāṇā gharāṇā*, Khālifā Bādal Khān of the Gwālior *gharāṇā*, Bāmācharaṇ Banerji of Behāla, Rādhikā Prasād Goswāmī, Girijā Śaṅkar Chakravurty of Calcutta, Nagendranāth Bhaṭṭāchārya of Rāṇāghāṭ, Nagendranāth Dutt and others are worth-mentioning for the promotion of culture of classical *kheyāl* in Bengal.

The present trend and prospect of *kheyāl* in Bengal are encouraging and bright in every respect. Different institutions of classical music have been established nearly all over Bengal, and *kheyāl* of different styles are properly taught in them by expert musicians. Truly speaking, the culture of *dhruvapada*, for which Bengal won a great reputation for more than two hundred years, is now being gradually replaced by *kheyāl*. Different musical soirees and conferences are also giving impetus to the culture of classical music, specially of *kheyāl*, in whole of Bengal, and as a result thereof, *kheyāl* is being appreciated more and more, and is forming a part of education and aesthetic culture of Bengal.

APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER X

The characteristics of same of the *gitis* and *prabandhas* :

(*a*) The *sādhāraṇī-gīti* :

ऋजुभिर्ललितैः किञ्चित् सूक्ष्मात्सूक्ष्मैश्च सुश्रवैः ।
इषद्द्रुतैश्च कर्तव्या मृदुभिर्ललितैस्तथा ॥
प्रयोगे मसृणैः सूक्ष्मैः काकुभिश्च सुयोजितैः ।
एवं साधारणी ज्ञेया सर्वगीतिसमाश्रया ॥

(*b*) The *rāgālāpa*, *rūpaka* and *ākṣptikā* :

विनियुक्तो गर्भसन्धौ शुद्धसाधारितो बुधैः ।
ग्रहांशमन्द्रताराणां न्यासापन्यासयोस्तथा ॥
अल्पत्वस्य बहुत्वस्य षाडवौडुवयोरपि ।
अभिव्यक्तिर्यत्र दृष्टा स 'रागालाप' उच्यते ॥
'रूपकं' तद्वदेव स्यात्पृथग्भूतविदारिकम् ।
चच्चत्पुटादितालेन मार्गलयविभूषिता ॥
'आक्षिप्तिका' स्वरपदग्रथिता कथिता बुधैः ।
नोक्ते करणवर्तण्यौ प्रबन्धान्तर्गतेरिह ॥
मतङ्गादिमताद् ब्रूमो भाषाऽदिष्वेव रूपकम् ।**

Regarding them, Simhabhupāla has said :

"ग्रहत्वादीनां लक्षणानां यत्राभिव्यक्तिर्दृश्यते स रागालापः । विवादिस्वरान्पृथक्कृत्य रागालापलक्षणयुक्तं रूपकम् । मार्गलययुक्तेन चच्चत्पुटादितालेन स्वरपदयुक्ता या गीयते साऽक्षिप्तिका" ।

(*c*) The definition of the *kaivāḍa-prabandha* :

पाटैः स्यातां ध्रुवोद्ग्राहौ कैवाडे न्यसनं ग्रहे ।
सार्थकैरर्थहीनैश्च पाटैः स द्विविधो मतः ॥
स शुद्धैर्मिश्रितैः पाटैः शुद्धो मिश्र इति द्विधा ।

—*Ratnākara*, IV. 200-201

Regarding the *kaivāḍa-prabandha*, Siṁhabhupāla has said: "पाटाक्षरैर्ध्रुवोद्ग्राहौ कर्तवौ। ग्रह उद्ग्राहे समाप्तिर्यस्य स कैवाडः। स च द्विविधः; सार्थकैः पाटैरेकः; अनर्थकैर्द्वितीय इति। पुनरपि द्वितीयः शुद्धो मिश्र इति द्विविधः। केवलैः पाटैर्विरचितः शुद्धः; पदस्वरादिभिर्मिश्रितैः पाटैर्मिश्र इति ॥२००॥ इति कैवाडप्रबन्धः ॥"

(*d*) The *rāsaka* and the *ekatālī prabandhas*:

(*i*) Cf. *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, IV. 176-181. (*prabandhādhyāya*).

(*ii*) Siṁhabhupāla has said regarding the *rāsaka*: (a) "यो गमकस्थानवर्जितं झोम्बडलक्ष्म भजते, रासतालेन गीयते स रास इत्युच्यते। * *। Kallināth has said: "तालादिनियमादयं निर्युक्तो गमकस्थानकव्यतिरिक्तझोम्बडलक्षणातिदेशेन मेलापकाभात्त्रिधातुः, पदतालबद्धत्वात् ध्यक्षस्तारावलीजातिमान्। १७६-१८०। इति रासकप्रबन्ध ॥"

(*iii*) Regarding the *ekatalī-prabandha*, Siṁhabhupāla has said: "उद्ग्राहो ध्रुवश्च द्विर्गीयते; आभागध्रुवावर्धतः सकृदगीत्वा, आभोगध्रुवाभ्यामन्यत्रोद्ग्रादो न्यासः समाप्तिः सैकतालोपनिबद्धैकतालिका। अस्यामुद्ग्राह आलापमालेणेति केषाञ्चिन्मतम्।" Kallināth has said: "तालनियमान्निर्युक्तोऽयं मेलापकाभावात्त्रिधातुः पदतालबद्धत्वेन ध्यक्षस्तारावलीजातिमान्।" ॥१८१॥

CHAPTER XI

A SHORT ANALYSIS OF MUSIC OF BENGAL

Bengal's contribution to music as well as to other phases of arts is immense. Beginning from the plain folk songs like ballads of the Gupta and Pāla periods down to the current classical type of music, there had been changes, adjustments, re-adjustments, additions and alterations, together with various innovations in the forms of musical compositions and musical phrases, melodies and tempi through the ages. It should be remembered in this connection that mainly two types of music, folk and classico-folk, along with classical one were always in practice both in the rural and urban societies not only of undivided Bengal, but also of Greater Bengal (*Vṛhad-Vaṅga*), which consisted of whole of Bengal, Behār, Orissā and Assam. The Zemindars and Nawābs as well as the art-loving wealthy men of Bengal always patronised music, dance and drama for their healthy culture and wide appreciation.

The musical compositions and musical phrases (*prabandhas* and *sthāyas*) of songs like *vajra* and *caryā* of the Vajrayānī and Sahajayāni Buddhists of the 10th-11th century A.D. used to be sung with classical (*śāstrīya*) melodies and rhythms (*rāgas* and *tālas*), accompanied by musical instruments like lute with one string or two (*ekatārā* or *dotārā*), and drums of various sizes and cymbals. The Buddhist Yogīs sometimes used to dance with their songs in ecstatic joy like the Arabian Sufis and Christian mystics of the mediaeval time. Some scholars are of opinion that song like *caryā*

was not only composed by the Buddhists monks alone, but by the Saivaite and Vaiṣṇava Tāntrists as well. "The writers of the mystic songs," says Dr. Sukumār Sen, "were generally known as Siddhācāryas inasmuch as they were spiritual masters (*Ācāryas*), and were believed to have attained the final beatitude (*siddhi*). Some were reputed as great Yogīs (*Mahāyogī*, *Yogīrāja*), and others as *Avadhūta* (literally 'purified' i. e. washed clean of ignorance or delusion)". Similarly a sacred and ritualistic song like *vajra* was also in practice among the Vajrayānī Buddhists (as *caryā* was in practice among the Śahajayānī Buddhists), and that both the songs, *caryā* and *vajra* were composed in old Bengali or proto-vernacular (*avahaṭṭha*). The *caryā* or *caryāgīti* (*pada*) is also known as the *cakragīti*. The word '*cakra*' is specially used in the Tāntric *sādhanā* (both Hindu and Buddhist) to mean a circle of the *śakti-sādhakas* (*veers*), engaged in the Tāntric functions. The *padas* or *gānas* do not only hear the literary and social values, but also religious and spiritual ones, and, therefore, it will be wise to call them the socio-religious songs. Ordinarily they are known as the 'Buddhist Mystic Songs'. Munidatta wrote a commentary on them in the 14th century, and from it we come to know their philosophical as well as social significances. Different kinds of classical *śāstric rāgas* like *mallārī*, *kāmoda*, *bhairavī*, *mālaśrī*, *mālasī-gabuḍā*, *gabuḍa* or *gauḍā*, *kāṇhu-gurjarī*, *bāngāl*, *śavarī*, *guñjarī* (*gurjarī*?), *ramakrī*, *patamañjarī*, *aru*, *devakrī*, *desākha*, *dhānaśrī*, *varāḍī* or *valāddī*(?) were used in the *caryāgīti*.

The *gītagovinda-padagānas* or *aṣṭapadīs* were composed by Ṭhākar Jayadeva of Kenduvilva (West Bengal) in the 12th century A. D. They seemed to be constructed after the form of the *caryāgīti* of the mystic Buddhist

Yogīs, though their languages differed from each other to some extent. The songs of the *gītagovinda* are the *prabandha* type of *gītis*, which means they are duly bound up with *ṣaḍaṅgas* like music-part (*dhātu*), rhythm (*tāla*) and other *aṅgas*. The language of the *gītagovinda-pada-gānas* is a combination of Prākṛt and Sanskṛt. Dr. Sen is of opinion that the songs of the *gītagovinda* are written in Sanskṛt, but their rhythm and rhyme belong to *apabhraṁśa* poetry. The *padas* or songs (*gānas*) of the *gītagovinda* are tuned in classical melodies and rhythms. It is said that sometimes the *aṣṭapadīs* were sung accompanied by classical dances, as formulated by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the 2nd century A. D. It has been recorded in Kalhan's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that in different temples of Kārtikeya and Śiva, *naṭis* and *naṭas* and specially the *devadāsīs* (temple dancing girls) used to perform dances according to the laws and principles, set forth in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* during the times of Gupta and Pāla kings. During the reign of Rājā Lakṣmaṇasena, the culture of both classical dance and music were properly maintained. Besides, the *maṅgalagītis* were in practice and their materials and themes were taken from different *Maṅgalakāvyas*. The *maṅgalagītis* were the of socio-religious songs, and they were very popular among all classes of people. Śāraṅg-deva has described both *caryā* and *maṅgalagīti* as classical ones in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. He has said,

(a) Admyātmagocarā caryā syātdvitīyāditālataḥ//
Sa dvidhā cchāndasaḥ pūrtyā pūrṇāpūrṇa tvapūrtitaḥ/
Samadhruvā ca viṣamadhruvetyeṣā puṇardvidhā//
—SR., 4.292-93

Siṁhabhupāla has said: "*yasyāṃ pādānāmante'anuprāsayuktaḥ, adyātmavācakaiḥ padairupnibaddhā sā caryā*"; i.e. the last line of the *caryāgīti* is with *anuprāsa*. It is spiritual in nature. It is so composed that its words (*sāhitya*) convey the idea of spirituality and sacredness.

(b) Kaiśikyāṃ boṭṭarāge vā maṅgalaṃ maṅgalaiḥ padaiḥ/
Vilamvita-laye geyaṃ maṅgalacchandasāthavā//
—RK., 4. 303.

Siṁhabhupāla has said: "*kaiśikarāge boṭṭarāge vā kalyāṇavācikaiḥ padair-vilamvitena layena maṅgalo geyaḥ*"; i.e. the *maṅgalagāna* used to be sung on auspicious occasions, along with the words (*sāhitya*) that conveyed sacredness, and with the *rāga*, *kaiśika* or *boṭṭa* (the *bhuṭiyā* or Tibetan melody), and it used to be sung in slow tempo.[1] Some are of opinion that the *maṅgalagīti* of the ancient time and the *maṅgalakāvya-gāna* of the mediaeval time are not one and the same, and it might have been the fact that the *maṅgala-kāvyagānas* used to be composed and sung in the spirit and under the inspiration of auspicious type of the ancient *maṅgalagāna*.

Gradually there evolved the classical form of *kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*, formulated by the Vaiṣṇava savants like Vaḍu Chaṇḍīdās of Nānnura (West Bengal), Kavi Vidyāpati of Mithilā and others. They were composed after the form of the *gītagovinda-padagāna* to some extent, and they used to be sung with the help of classical *rāgas* and *tālas*. The songs of the *kṛṣṇa-kīrtana* paved the way for formulation of the *nāma-kīrtana*, introduced by Śrī Chaitanya.

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1 Cf. the *Appendix* II of this book, where the *maṅgalagīti* has elaborately been discussed.

The contribution of Orissā to *kīrtana* was not less important, as many of the prominent Vaiṣṇava savants of the 15th-16th century were either disciples or followers of Chaitanyadeva. Rāya Rāmānanda, Murārigupta, Svarūpa Dāmodara and others were the constant companions of Śrī Chaitanya at Gambhirā in Puri, and as they were most efficient musicians of that day, they helped to enrich the treasury of the *kīrtana-gāna*. Rājā Pratāparudradeva Gajapatī also rendered immense help to the propagation of *kīrtana*, as promulgated by Mahāprabhu (Chaitanyadeva).

In the 10th chapter of the *Bhāgavat*, which was written, it is said, on the basis of the *Pañcarātra-saṁhitā* and different *Purāṇas*, the true significance of *kīrtana* has been mentioned, and it has been defined there as the auspicious type of *gīti* in praise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. In other sense, it was known as '*guṇa-gāthā*' or '*gīta-kīrti-gāna*'. In the 16th century, when Ṭhākur Narottamadās returned from Vṛndāvana (Mathurā) to Khetari (in the Rājasāhī district), he arranged a conference of *kīrtana*, where he formulated and introduced the classical type of *padāvalī-kīrtana* on the basis of the *dhruva-prabandha-gāna*, which he mastered from the accomplished Vaiṣṇava musicians at Vṛndāvana. His style of *kīrtana* was known as *garāṇhāṭi* or *gaḍerhāṭi*, and it was recognised as the *līlā* or *rasa kīrtana*. He also introduced the *gaurcandrikā* of *kīrtana* at that time. After him, three other types of *kīrtana*, *manaharsāhī*, *reṇetī* and *mandāriṇī* evolved. Kavīndra Gokul also introduced a new type of *kīrtana*, known as *jhārkhaṇḍī*, evolved from Jhārkhaṇḍa, Midnapore.[1]

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1 The *mahājana-padāvali-kīrtana* has not been elaborately dealt here, as it has been discussed elsewhere in detail. Cf. author's

After the *mahājana-padāvalī-kīrtana*, the *ḍhap* type of *kīrtana* (or *ḍhap-kīrtana*) evolved with the admixture of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* and the *pāñcālī* or *yātrā-gāna*. So the *ḍhap-kīrtana* can be recognised as an intermediate musical feature of *padāvalī-kīrtana* and *pāñcālī* or *yātrā*. The *ḍhap-kīrtana* was introduced in the early 19th century, and it was prevalent from 1825-30 to the beginning of the 19th century A.D. Dr. Sukumār Sen is of opinion that *pāñcālī* is the forerunner of *ḍhap-kīrtana*, and from the *kīrtana*, *tukka* (or *bhāṅgā-kīrtana* i.e. mutilated form of *kīrtana*), *pāñcālī* and *yātrā* evolved. Some say that *ḍhap-kīrtana* evolved from the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, and *yātrāgāna* as well as *pāñcālī* evolved from the *ḍhap-kīrtana*. But most of the scholars are of opinion that *ḍhap-kīrtana* is the product of admixture of the *gānas*, *padāvalī-kīrtana*, *pāñcālī* and *yātrā*. The theme of the *ḍhap-kīrtana* was composed mainly of the sportive plays of Śrī Kṛṣṇa (*bṛja-līlā*).

The word '*ḍhàp*' is a product of rural or local language (*deśaja-bhāṣā*). It conveys two meanings or ideas, one of which is pattern of construction or form, and the other is the sound, caused by the fall of an empty or hollow matter on the ground. As regards the meaning of *ḍhap-kīrtana*, we can take the second meaning which conveys the idea of sound of an empty or hollow matter, and as such the word *ḍhap-kīrtana* does not convey the idea of a real classical type of *mahājana-padāvalī-kīrtana*, but an immitation or a changed form thereof. Really the *ḍhap-*

The Historical Development of Indian Music (1960). Vide also the second introduction: *Padāvalī-kīrtaner Paricaya*, in 'Balarām Dāser Padāvalī' (Navabhārat Publisher, 1362 B.S.).

kīrtana does not follow the strict rules of singing, as set forth in the *padāvalī-kīrtana,* but is sung or embellished in its own way. Again the performers of the *ḍhap-kīrtana* do not follow the method or practice of singing of *gauracandrikā* before they begin the real theme of the *kīrtanagāna.* Sometimes they sing their own compositions (composed *padas*), along with the traditional ones, with the help of classical *rāgas* and *tālas.* They also use *tukka* (*bhāṅgā-kīrtana*) in the form of a lecture or conversation, instead of using *āṅkhara* (*tāna* of the classical *kheyāl* type of song), as used in the *padāvalī-kīrtana.* Sometimes they use words for creating laughter (*hāsyarasa*) in the mind of the audiences. So it is found that in later days, the *ḍhap-kīrtana* has been divided into two, *ḍhap-kīrtana* and *ḍhap-yātrā.* The *ḍhap-yātrā* is performed exclusively by women.

It is said that Madhusūdan Kinnar (or Madhu Kān)[1] introduced the *ḍhap* (light) type of *kīrtana,* though there rages differences of opinion regarding it. Satish Chandra Mitra has admited this fact in his *Histrory of Jessore and Khulnā* (Beng.). Mr. S. C. Mitra has written that just as Dāsu Rāy and Govinda Adhikāry earned great reputation in the *kṛṣṇa-kīrtana* in West Bengal, so Madhu Kān in the like manner earned it in East Bengal for his new and novel type of *ḍhap-kīrtana* or *pāñcāli*(?). The word *kinnar* connotes the idea of celestial dancing class of people, the evidence of whom are found in the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa, Bhāgavata* and different *Purāṇas,* along with the names of Yakṣa, Rakṣa, Rākṣasa, Gandharva. In fact, the word *kinnar* counotes the idea of a dancing class of people like the word *naṭa.* The father of Madhu-

1 The title 'Kān' is the diminutive form of 'Kinnar'.

sūdan was Ānanda Kinnar by name, and he used to earn his living with music. '*Kinnar*' was his title which defined that he was musician (*naṭa*) by class. Madhusūdan inherited the tradition of culture of music from his father as well as from his family. Some are of opinion that he introduced the *ḍhap-kīrtana* in the form of *pāñcālī*, and earned great reputation for his own unique style. Ordinarily he was known as Madhu Kān. The main themes of his *kīrtana* were four in number, and they were *kalaṅka-vañjana*, *akrur-saṁvāda*, *māthur* and *pravāsa*. All of them were composed with the legends and stories of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

The *bāulgīti* or *bāulgāna* evolved in the *Rāḍadeśa* in West Bengal (some types of the *bāulgīti* also evolved in East Bengal). It is also known as the '*dehatattva-gāna*, because the Bāuls sing songs with the Buddhist-cum-Yogic interpretations of the material body. They recognize the *Sahaja*, instead of God or Ātman, and that *Sahaja* resides in the gross material body, being free from all kinds of impurities and imperfections. So a Bāul tries to be a *Sahaja-mānuṣa* by means of the *kāyā-sādhana*, (by practice of the body). Music helps him in his religious practice. The word '*bāul*' connotes the idea of a man who is *bātul* or mad, and, therefore, a Bāul is mad after the realization of the *Sahaja*. The Arabic term of *bāul* or *āuliyā* is *oyāliā* or *deoyānā* (or *dewānā*). The *kāyā*-Sādhakas are divided into four, *āul*, *bāul*, *daraveśa* and *sāi*. The Sāi or Swāmī is the topmost Sādhaka of the Bāuls.

Regarding the significance of the terms *bāul* and *bāulgāna*, Dr. Shashibhūṣan Dāsgupta has said: "The Bāuls belonging to the Hindu community are generally Vaiṣṇavite in their faith and those belonging to the Muslim community are generally Sufi-istic and in both the schools

the emphasis is on the mystic conception of divine love. The word *bāul* with its Hindi variant *bāur* may be variously derived; it may be derived from the Sanskrit word *vātul* (affected by mind-disease i.e. mad, crazy), or from *vyākula* (impatiently eager); both these derivations are consistent with their modern sense of the word, which denotes inspired people with an ecstatic eagerness for a spiritual life where one can realise one's union with the eternal Beloved—'the Man of the heart'. The name Bāul as also its cognate form of Āul can very well be associated also with the Arabic word *āwliyā* (plural of *wālī*, a word originally meaning 'near,' which is used for 'friend' or 'devotee'), that refers to a class of perfect man. With the Bengali word Bāul we may also compare the Sufi word *Diwānā* which means mad, i. e., free from all social responsibilities".[1]

Regarding *bāul* and their *murshidā*-songs, Dr. Dāsgupta has mentioned about a Sufi-istic influence of *samā* (song, together with dance in a circle) as well as of the Sufi's spirit, upon them.[2] But this estimatation should be examined in its proper historical perspective. He has said: "In the *murshidā*-songs of the Bāuls we find a mixture of the Indian spirit with the spirit of Sufi-ism".[3]

The *bāul* or *bāulgīti* probably evolved from the *caryāgīti*, because like *caryā*, all the Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā type of songs like *bāul*, *kartābhajā*, etc. are socio-religious in nature. Not only that, but it is also a fact that all the

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1 Vide *Obscure Religious Cults* (As background of Bengali Literature), Calcutta University, 1946, pp. 187.

2 Ibid., p. 193.

3 Ibid., p. 194.

mystic songs like *caryā*, *vajra*, *bāul*, etc. evolved from the doctrine of *sahaja* (*sahajavāda*) of the Sahajayāna school of the Tāntric Buddhists of the 10th-11th century A.D.

Now, what do we mean by the *sahajavāda* or *sahajiyā* doctrine? The *sahajiyā* doctrine evolved from the Buddhist Sahajayāna in later days. The followers of Buddha were afterwards divided into two main sects, Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. The Hīnayāna was also known as the Śrāvaka-yāna or Pratyeka-buddha-yāna. Gradually Mantrayāna school evolved with the adoption of Tāntric interpretation and practice of the religious doctrines of Buddha. The Mantra-yāna was also known by its three main branches, Kālacakra-yāna, Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna. The Vajrayānī Buddhists adopted in their religious practices three prime formulae, *mantra*, *maṇḍala* and *mudrā*, and Vājradevī was their supreme deity. The Sahajayāna sect or school practically evolved out of the Vajrayāna one, or it can be said that Vajrayāna gradually culminated in the Sahajayāna. The prime aim of the Sahajayāna school was to attain the transcendental state of *mahāsukha* like *nirvāṇa* or *śūnyatā* of the Mādhyamika one. According to the historical records it is known that the doctrine of *sahaja* of the Sahajayāna school reigned supreme over Greater Bengal, comprising entire Bengal, Bihār, Orissā and Kāmarūpa or Assam in the 10th-12th century A. D. The *padas* (or *gānas*, because all kinds of *pada* were known as *gānas* or songs at that time) like *caryā*, *vajra*, *bāul*, etc. practically evolved during that time. Those Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā or Vaiṣṇava-Tāntric songs really evolved from the doctrine of the Buddhist Sahajayāna. The Vaiṣ-ṇava religion also got intermixed with the Buddhist Sahaja-yāna to some extent, and, it is sometimes believed that the Vaiṣṇava-*rasa-kīrtana* also evolved out of the materials of

caryā and other *sahajiyā padas*, which were the products of the Sahajayāna doctrine.

The Bāuls use musical instruments like *gopīyantra* and cymbal (*mandirā*) to accompany their songs, wear yellow robes, and use tinkling anklets (*nūpura*) round their ankles. They also dance in a circle along with the rhythms of their songs like the Arabian Durbises and Persian Sufis. Some of the tunes or musical modes of the *bāulgīti* are more or less influenced by those of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*.

Besides the *bāulgīti*, there are *umā-saṁgīta* (*āgamanī-saṁgīta*), *śyāmā-saṁgīta*, *kālī-kīrtana*, etc. which are purely devotional and spiritual in nature.

The devotional and classico-Bengali songs, composed by Sādhaka Rāmaprsād, Kamalākānta and other mystic saints as well as the songs, composed by Bhāratachandra, Nidhu Bābu, Raghunāth Dewān, Rājā Rāmmohan Roy, Dāśarathi Roy, Govinda Adhikāry, Madhusūdan Kinnar (Madhu Kān), Girish Chandra Ghose, Krishnaprasanna Sen, Jyotirindranāth Tagore, Satyendranāth Tagore, Rabindranāth Tagore[1] and others are the valuable assets to the music of Bengal. Different kinds of classical and devotional songs of the Brāhma-samāj are worth-mentioning in this connection. The *ākhḍāi*, *haf-akhḍai*, *kavigāna*, *pāñcālī*, *yātrāgāna*, *rāmāyaṇa-gāna*, *jhumur*, *kālī-kīrtan* are also the special features of classico-folk songs of Bengal.

Regarding the *kavigāna*, Īśvarchandra Gupta has said that before the 1210 *śāla* (Bengali era), Mahārāj Nava-krishṇa Bāhādur of Śobhābāzār, Calcutta, patronized the *ākhḍāi* type of song. In 1211 *śaka*, Rāmanidhi Gupta

1 Vide the detailed discussion on the music of Kaviguru Rabindranāth in the *Appendix* III.

(Nidhu Rābu) introduced the culture of *ākhḍāi* both at Śobhābāzār and Bāgbāzār, Calcutta, and it should be mentioned that classical *rāgas* and *tālas* were used in the *ākhḍāigāna*. Gradually the practice of *hāf-ākhḍāi* was introduced in Calcutta and also in Chinsurā. In the beginning of the 18th century, the *kavigāna* evolved and was introduced in both the common and educated societies of Calcutta. The *kavigāna* was socio-religious in nature. Regarding the *kavigāna*, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen has said : "The Kavi songs had originally constituted part of old Yātrās or popular plays. The simple episodes in Yātrā, especially those of the nature of light opera, were in course of time wrought into a separate class of songs, which were sung by those distinct bodies of professional bards called Kaviwālās, whose domain was thus completely severed from that of the Yātrā parties".[1] Dr. S. K. De is of opinion that the "existence of *kavi*-songs may be traced to the beginning of the 18th century or even beyond it to the 17th, but the most flourishing period of the Kaviwālās was between 1760 and 1830". Rāsu-Nṛsiṁha, Hari or Haru Ṭhākūr, Rām Bābu, Nitāi Vairāgī and other noted Kaviwālās died in 1830. Dr. De has further said in this connection: "After these greater Kaviwālās, came their followers who maintained the tradition of *kavi*-poetry up to the fiftees or beyond it. The *kavi*-poetry, therefore, covers roughly the long stretch of a century from 1760 to 1860, although after 1830 all the greater Kaviwālās one

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1 (i) Vide *History of Bengali Language and Literature* (Calcutta), p. 679.

(ii) Cf. Nirajan Chakravurty: *Unaviṁśa Śatābdir Kaviwālā O Bāṅgālā-Sāhitya*, (Bengali), pp. 22-40.

by one had passed away, a *kavi*-poetry had rapidly declined in the hands of their less gifted followers".[1]

So we find that *kavigāna* was in practice from 1760 to 1860. The themes of the *kavigāna* were taken from the legends and stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṁśa*, *Bhāgavat* and different *Purāṇas*. Some are of opinion that *kheḍu* or *kheuḍa-gāna* is the forerunner of the *kavigāna*. It is a historical fact that the type of *kavigāna*, which was prevalent in Śāntipur and Fuliā in the middle of the 18th century, was known as *kheuḍa*, and this fact has been mentioned by Bhāratachandra in his book, *Annadāmaṅgala*. But it should be mentioned in this connection that old form of *pāñcālī* is the real source of all kinds of classico-folk songs, including the *kavigāna* of Bengal.

The *kavigāna* begins with the music-part, *citen*, and then the *mahaḍā* is sung, and at last *antarā* is sung. The words or literary compositions (*sāhitya*) of the *kavigāna* principally depend on the tunes, or it can be said that *sāhitya* of the songs is used in accordance with the nature of production of the tunes. The *kavigāna* is mainly composed of four classes of musical themes, known as *mālasī*, *sakhī-saṁvāda*, *goṣṭha* and *kavi* or *kavi-laharī*. The *mālasī* causes to arouse the emotional sentiments as well as devotion in the minds of the audiences. This type of *kavigāna* is composed with different *rāgas* and *tālas*. The *sakhī-saṁvāda* type of *kavigāna* simultaneously describes joy and sorrow of the *nāyakas* and *nāyikās* of the themes. The *goṣṭha* type of *kavigāna* is composed of the stories of the early life of

1 Cf. Dr S. K. De: *Bengali Literature in the 19th Century*, p. 302.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and it is full of sweetness and affection. The *kavi* or *kavi-laharī* type of *kavigāna* generally arouses wits and laughter in the audiences. The Kaviwālās or composers of the *kavigānas* are really gifted with poetic genius, because they sometimes extemporarily compose the songs (compositions of the songs) from memory during the times of singing.

Regarding the classico-folk song, *pāñcālī*, there is a great controversy among the scholars, Dr. Haripada Chakravurty has ably discussed all the different views about *pāñcālī* in his book, *Dāsarathi O Tāhār Pāñcālī* (Bengali, 1367 B. S.). The *pāñcālī* is mainly a religio-devotional as well as social type of song. The *pāñcālīs* like *Rāmalīlā*, *Kṛṣṇalīlā*, *Mahābhārata*, etc. are the religio-devotional ones, whereas those of *Manasā*, *Dharmaṭhākur*, *Maṅgala-chaṇḍī* as well as *Vidyāsundar*, are the social type of songs. Dr. S. K. De is of opinion that the old Bengali poems were generally known as *pāñcāli*: "This word shows that we owe at least some forms of old Bengali meters of Pāñcāl or Kanauj". Dr. D. C. Sen is also of the same opinion. In fact, there was a meter, known as *pāñcāl* in Prākṛt. Again in the *Alaṁkāra-śāstra*, *pāñcālī* was a style of writing like those of *gauḍī*, *vaidarbhi*, *śaurasenī*, etc. Bharata has described about those styles in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. So it might be the fact that there was a special pattern of song (*pāñcālī*), written in the *pāñcālī* style.

According to Dharmānanda Bhāratī, the spelling of the word will be *pāñcāli* (ि) instead of *pāñcālī* (ी). This term is the product of Rāḍadeśa in West Bengal, and the suffix *ali* means the bee (*madhukara* or *makṣikā*). He has said that it is said that in ancient time, the stalwart or top-ranking persons were known as 'the Bee of the village'. In

In Midnāpore, Bāṅkurā and Bīrbhūm districts, many persons were known by their ancestral titles, *ali*, *bhramara*, etc. Before the time of Kaśīrāmadās (of the *Mahābhārata* of the Bengali version) and even in his time, many persons of the community were known as '*pāñcāli*', because they used to sing the *chaḍā*, *tarjā* and *jhumura*, accompanied by folk-dance and comic ('saṁ sājiyā nāchita evaṁ tāmāsā kariṭa'). They were gifted with natural talent and used to extemporize the verses and songs of *pāñcālī*. Dāsarathi Roy innovated a new type *pāñcālī* with the prevailing old type.[1]

Some say that the name *pāñcālī* is known by its five limbs (*aṅgas*) like song (*gāna*), costume (*sāja*), dual practice of *chaḍā* (*chaḍār laḍāi*), composition of songs and dance. Some say about different meanings and materials of these five limbs. Some hold that *pāñcālī* is known by its definite method of singing (*gāyana-paddhati*). Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Mukhopādhyāy has given a *śāstric* or classical interpretation of the *pāñcālī*, which is valuable for the students of history of Indian music. According to him, *pāñcālī* evolved from the *kṣudra-gīti* or *saṁkīrṇa-gīti* or *rūpaka-gīti*, and in this respect he has quoted Paṇḍit Narahari Chakravurty's *Bhaktiratnākara*:

Tāla dhātu-yukta vākya-mātra kṣudra-gīta/
Dhātu pūrve ukta udgrāhādi yathocita//
Śuddha sālager prāya kṣudra-gīta haya/
Ithe antyānuprāsa praśasta śāstre kaya//
Kṣudra-gīta bheda cāri, citrapadā āra/
Citrakalā dhruvapadā pāñcālī pracāra//

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1 Cf. Dr. Haripada Chakravurty: *Dāsarathi O Tāhār Pāñcālī* (Behgali, 1367 B.S.), p. 45. Vide also '*Bhārati-Patrikā*; Śrāvana, 1349 B. S, pp. 300-301.

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The *pāñcālī* is different from the *jhumrī* type of song, and it is also different from the *maṅgalagāna* and the *padāvalī*, because the *pāñcālī* is of the *viṣama-dhruvā* type and it is divided into *sama*, *ardha-sama*, *viṣama*. Paṇḍit Mukhopādhyāy says that the *pāñcālī* has no definite name or significance of its own, as the *kṛṣṇa-maṅgala*, *śiva-maṅgala*, *dharma-maṅgala*, *manasā-maṅgala*, *chaṇḍī-maṅgala* and other *maṅgala-gītis* were sung in the tunes of the *pāñcālī*.[1] But it should be remembered in this connection that *pāñcālī* used to be sung along with *chaḍā*, whereas the *maṅgalagītis* had no verse or song like *chaḍā*, and so it will not be wise to mix up the *pāñcālī* with the *maṅgalagīti*. According to Mukhopādhyāy, Dāsarathi Roy composed his new and novel type of *pāñcālī* with the admixture of the *kavigāna* and the *maṅgalagāna*.

In fact, Bengali literature for the mass (*jana-sāhitya*) was of two kinds, *dhāmālī* and *laukika-pāñcālī*. Between these two, the *dhāmālī* was an original and ancient literature for the mass or general public. But it was regarded as illegal (*avaidha*), whereas the *pāñcālī* was legal (*vaidha*). The *dhāmālīs* are composed with the plots of the characters of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Śiva, but they are not meant for the educated society, and, therefore, are played outside the village, among the uncultured mass. The *laukika-pāñcālī* is divided into two, old and new. The *pāñcālī*, as introduced by Dāśarathi Roy, was known as the new one. But the old *pāñcālīs* like *Maṅgala-Chaṇḍī*, *Sūrya*, etc. and the *maṅgalagītis* like *Manasā-maṅgala*, *Chaṇḍī-maṅgala*, *Dharma-maṅgala* *Nāth-maṅgala* (like

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1 Ibid., p.,47. Cf. also *The Yugāntara* (Pujā Number) 1360 B.S., p. 48.

Gorakṣa or *Gorka-vijaya* and the songs of Gopichānd) were the old types of *pāñcālī*. Sometimes the *Kṛttivāsī-Rāmāyaṇa* and *Kaśīdāsī-Mahābhārata* were known by the name of *Rāmāyāṇa-pāñcālī* and *Bhārata-pāñcālī*.[1]

According to Dr. Sukumār Sen and others, the *pāñcālī* type songs evolved from the songs, which accompanied the plays of the dolls (*pāñcālikā* or *putul-nāch*) in ancient India. This type of plays with songs was connected with the Sanskrit dramas. Dr. Sen has said in this connection: "These early Bengali devotional narrative poems are classed as 'Pāñcālī' or 'Pāñcālikā' which originally meant 'doll' or 'puppet'. The name indicates that at the beginning the devotional songs were sung and poems chanted supporting a puppet-show of the story. Even now a puppet-show in Bengal is accompanied by chanting of verses narrating the story and punctuated by beating of drums and cymbals. An abridged version of this is the showing of the painted scroll ('Paṭa') depicting the stories of the devotional narratives. The man showing the scroll chants the story in crude (often *extempore*) verse as he unrolls it. This popular show, which obtained in West Bengal only, is fast disappearing. Bāṇabhaṭṭa has mentioned such show of *Yamapaṭa* in his *Harṣacarita*".[2]

Dr. Sen has also found a reference of the song like *pāñcālī* in the *Vṛhaddharmapurāṇa*, which was current, he believes, in the 12th-13th century A.D. He is also of opinion that as the *Pāñcāladeśa* was a land for designing or

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1 Cf. Dr. Tārāpada Bhattāchārya: *Baṅga-Sāhityer Itihāsa*, vol. I. (Beng., 1962), pp. 8-10.

2 Vide Dr. Sen: *History of Bengali Literature* (published by the Sāhitya Academy, New Delhi, 1960), p. 24.

making the dolls, so the dolls were known by the name of the country, Pāñcāla (i.e. *pañcālikā*), and the song *pāñcālī* used to be sung along with the display of the dolls.

Now all the views, subscribed by different scholars, mentioned above, do not help us much to form a definite idea about the real origin and significance of the song, *pāñcālī*. Some say that *pāñcālī* is a demunitive form of the *yātrāgāna*. But it seems that *yātrāgāna* evolved from the *pāñcālī*.

The old form of *yātrāgāna* was practically known as the *nāṭagāna* or *nāṭagīti*. In the *Chaitanya-bhāgavat*, it is mentioned that Śrī Chaitanya himself took part in the play of the *nāṭagīti*, *Rukmiṇīharaṇa*. But, in truth, we do not find any ancient Bengali book on the *yātrāgāna*. It is said that the definite form of *yātrāgāna* was introduced in the 19th century, and that form was influenced by the *Gītagovinda*. The *yātrāgāna* was divided into three according to three kinds of subject-matter, and they were *Kṛṣṇa-yātrā*, *Vidyāsundar-yātrā* and *Rāma-yātrā*, and among them the *Kṛṣṇa-yātrā* was most ancient. The real name of the *Kṛṣṇa-yātrā* was the *Kālīyadamana*. In the *Kālīyadamana-yātrā*, all kinds of sportive plays (*līlās*) of Kṛṣṇa were included. The dance was a special feature of the ancient type of *yātrāgāna*. The *jhumura* was also known as one of the types of *yātrā*, as duet songs (*dvaita-gāna*), *lagnī* and dance were the definite features of the *jhumura-gāna*. The lower type of the *jhumura* was known as *leto*.[1]

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1 Vide Dr. Tārāpada Bhattāchārya: *Baṅga-Sāhityer Itihāsa*, vol. I. (Beng., 1962), pp. 342-343.

But it is a fact that *kavigāna, ākhḍai, hālf-ākhḍāi, yātrāgāna* and *tarjā* almost belong to the same class of the *pāñcālī*, though they differ from one another in regard to their songs, plots or themes (*pālās*), literary compositions or *sāhitya*, musical instruments, number of musicians and players and also their methods of presentation or singing. The *pāñcālī* used to be sung by a band of musicians not less than five. The leading singer (*mūla-gāyena*), supported by his two assistants (*dohāra* or *pāli*), sings first the lyric lines of the *pāñcālī* and then the other assistants repeat those lines. The leading singer sings the lines of the *pāñcālī* in slow tempo (*vilamvita laya*) and the assistant singers sing in rapid tempo (*druta laya*). The leading singer use a *chowri* or yak tail-fan in his left-hand and a cymbal (*mandirā*) in the right hand and the tinkling anklets (*nūpura*) round both the anklets. Sometimes a drum (*mṛdaṅga*) accompanies the *pāñcālī* song.

Different types of song are connected with daily life of the peoples of Bengal. The folk-songs like *bhādu, paṭuā, jāga, yugīyātrā, bhāṭiyālī, jārī, sārī, gambhīrā, gheṭu, marphāti, murśidyā, gājan, dāḍākavi, bolān, mālasī, kheuḍa, ālkāph, dehatattva, gājīrgāna, letogīta, nalegīta, bhātelgīta, pauṣa-pārvaṇa-gīta, hātugīta, vayāni, bhāsān, mānickpīrer-gāna, gurusatya, trināther-gāna, caḍakapūja-gāna, aṣṭakagīta, kānāi-balāi-gīta,* etc. are the sources of living inspiration and joy in the lives of men and women of rural Bengal. Musical instruments like *ektārā, dotārā, gopīyantra, sārindā, muralī, āḍa-vāṅśī, tiprā-vāṅśī, sīṅgā, mādala, khola, kāṅśī, khañjani* etc. are used in those folk songs.

The *bhādu* songs are current among men and women of Mānbhūm. In Bānkurā, West Burdwān, Bīrbhūm, *bhādu* is specially sung by the unmarried girls to the rhythm

of *dhāk* (drum). These are narrative songs, and are similar to *karaṃ* songs of the nomadic tribes of Chotanāgpur. *Karaṃ* means the *kadam* tree, and men and women sing *karaṃ* around the planted branches of the *kadam* tree. Dances are followed by the song. Men and women dance with different poses with the beat of different drums. Flutes of bamboo sometimes accompany the song.

The *paṭuā* songs are also narrative ones, and they narrate the lives and greatness of the tribal gods and godesses. Different images of gods and godesses are painted on cloth, and when they are shown to the audiences, *paṭuā* songs are sung with different melodies. They are not followed by any musical instrument. The rhythms of the *paṭuā* songs are sometimes observed by the clapping of hands. These songs are current at the south of Manipur, and at Assam, north of Bīrbhūm and different parts of West Bengal. Besides, *bhāoaiyā*, *jāga*, *yugīyātrā*, other kinds of songs are also current in different parts of West and East Bengal. The *ṭusu* song is similar to *bhādu* song.

It has already been said before that *bāul* songs of West Bengal are religious. They are sung in connection with Tāntric and Sahajiyā spiritual practices. They are followed by *ektārā* or *dotārā*. The *jārī* songs are expressive of the sentiment of valour (*veera-rasātmaka*), and are always followed by dances. The *sārī* songs are sung when boats ply over the rivers. The *gheṭu* songs are loving ones, and they are sung with dances. The *jhumura*, *gambhirā*, *bhāṭiyālī*, etc. are narrative and socio religious songs. There are many types of songs which are connected with religious functions (*vratas*) like *kukkuṭi-vrata*, *sūrya-vrata*, *sejuti-vrata*, *sandhyāmanī-vrata*, *yama-pukura-vrata*, etc. Some of the *vratas* are observed by

aged women and some by unmarried girls. Different kinds of folk-songs (*lokagīti*) are attached to these religious *vratas*, and many of them are accompanied by dances. The literature of these songs are oral and at the same time traditional. The singers do not rehearse, but simply sing in a traditional manner They are sometimes accompanied by dances and musical instruments. The *gājan* songs are sung in memory of Dharma-Ṭhākur and Nīla-Śiva. Dances are observed in the *gājan* songs. Besides these, there are numerous rural songs and folk dances that inspire men and women of Bengal.

The folk-songs are the source of higher classical songs (music). In the ancient treatises of music, we find that local (*deśī*) tunes of different countries and races were absorbed into the stock of classical music, when they were reshaped and refreshed with the *śāstric* ten essentials (*daśa-lakṣaṇa*) like sonant, consonant, assonant, etc. All the folk-songs are attached to social functions as well as to religious ceremonies, whence people used to imbibe sacred atmosphere all the time. These songs appeal to the heart and transform the domestic atmosphere of the village into spiritual one. The folk songs are really the fountain-head of people's new energy and inspiration, and as such they should be revived and properly maintained and cultured for the upliftment of the human society.

CHAPTER XII

A SHORT SURVEY OF DANCES OF INDIA

Dancing is an art of rhythm in movements, expressed through the medium of different limbs of the body. It is an outward expression of inner joy and pleasure of human beings. If we look into the pages of history of the most ancient primitive peoples of the world, we find that they were fond of dance and music. They used to dance in accompaniment of their speech-songs and songs in praise of rain-god, weather-god, vegetable-god, war-god, witch-god, presiding deities of diseases, supernatural powers, spirits, etc. In fact, dance and music were the part and parcel of life of the primitive tribes of most ancient times. Well has it been said by W. D. Humbly: "The importance of dancing among the primitive people is much greater than among civilized nations; and among the former, emotional life, whether ambre or gary, is capable of expression in bodily movement". From this it is known that the primitive men were devout lovers of dance and music. The joyful stimulus and urge lay at the root of the evolution of their dance and music, which were sometimes simple and sometimes violent. Dance and music were the means to get solace and peace in the tiresome tenure of their lives.

Dancing may, therefore, be called the most ancient as well as living art of human beings. In the prehistoric Indus Valley cities, a bronze dancing girl was excavated by Rāi Bāhādur Dayārām Sāhāni, and its exhumation has proved that the culture of dancing was prevalent even in that remote past in all its artistic display and grace. Some

ingredients of music like crude type of lute (*veeṇā*), pipe (*veṇu*) and drum (*mṛdaṅga*) were also excavated, that speak of culture of music in that prehistoric time. In the *Brāhmaṇa* (Vedic) period, we find the practice of dancing before the blazing sacrificial altars. The maidens with water-pitchers used to dance round a fire, singing different sacred sacrificial hymns. Dr. Keith, Prof. Oldenberg, Prof. Hillebrandt and other Western Vedic scholars as well as the Vedic scholars of the East have admitted this fact. The solemn dance of the maidens round the fire in the Vedic Mahāvrata rite is worth-mentioning in their connection (Vide Dr. Keith: The *Vedic Mahāvrata*, published in 'The Third International Congress for the History of Religions for 1908" (Vol II, pp. 55, 58). In the classical period (600—500 B.C.), the *gāndharva* type of music was in practice. During the time of Bharata, in the 2nd century A. D., dancing took a new and novel classical turn to form an indispensible part of drama. Bharata has fully dealt with different types of dance, along with different hand-poses (*mudrās*) and gestures and postures in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He has defined and described the dances of *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya*, in connection with the classical dramatic songs like *madraka*, *vardhamāna*, etc. The *tāṇḍava* was meant for men, as it was vigorous and masculine in concept, and *lāsya*, for women for its grace and dalliance. The dances, *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* were included in the category of *nartana*. Because *nartana* was divided into two, *nṛtya* and *nṛtta*. *Nartana*, which was composed of as well as expressed the emotional sentiments and moods, was known as *nṛtya*, and *nartana*, which was composed of rhythm and tempo, was known as *nṛtta*. These two, *nṛtya* and *nṛtta*

were again divided into two classes, vigorous *tāṇḍava* and graceful *lāsya*. It has been said in the *Saṅgītasārāmṛta*,

Bhāvāśrayaṃ nartanaṃ hi nṛtyamityabhidhīyate//
Yattāla-laya-niṣpannaṃ nartanaṃ nṛttamīritaṃ/
Madhuroddhatabhedena tatdvayaṃ ca dvidhā punaḥ//
Madhuraṃ lāsyamākhyātamuddhataṃ tāṇḍhavaṃ smṛtaṃ/
Lāsanāllāsyamityuktaṃ sṛṅgārarasajīvanaṃ//
Tāṇḍavaṃ taṇḍunā proktamuddhataṃ śambhu-nirmitaṃ/
Tatra nṛtyasya bhedaśca catvāraḥ parikīrtitaḥ//

From these, it is understood that *tāṇḍava* was possessed of *veera-rasa*, and *lāsya* was possessed of *sṛṅgāra-rasa*. King Tulajā (1729-35 A. D.) has divided *nṛtta* into four, *peraṇaṃ*, *preṅkhaṇaṃ* *guṇḍalī* or *gauṇḍalī* and *daṇḍa-rāsakaṃ*.

The *āsārita* type of dance was very famous at that time, and this type of dance was traditionally handed down from the times of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa* (300-200 B. C.). In the *Harivaṁśa*, *āsārita* has been mentioned as *citra-tāṇḍava*, which was followed by pure type of *karaṇas* and musical instruments. The pure type of the seven *jātis* (*jātirāga-gānas*) were also sung along with the *āsārita* dance. It has been mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa* that the wives of the Bhaimas used to sing and dance with gestures and postures to please Kṛṣṇa. The *hallisaka* dance was also practised during the time of the *Harivaṁśa*, and the commentator, Nīlakaṇṭha has said that *hallisaka* was a kind of dance, in which many women dancers took part: '*hallisakaṃ vahubhiḥ strībhiḥ saha nṛtyaṃ*'. This type of dance was known as a sportive play, and it was, in later

time, known as the *rāsa-nṛtya,* which women dancers dance in circle in accompaniment with songs and musical instruments. The dance, *gaṅgāvataraṇa* was also prevalent during the time of the Great Epics. Nīlakaṇṭha has said that the *gaṅgāvataraṇa* was also known as a dance-drama (*nṛtya-nāṭya*).

Similarly different types of classical dances have been mentioned in the works of Kālidās, Śūdraka, Viṣṇu-śarmā and others. Mahākavi Kālidās (from 100 B. C. to 400 or 450 A. D.) has described about dance-types like *nandya-varta, caturasra, ardha-caturasra*, etc. in his diffrent works. In the *Vikramorvaśī,* he has mentioned about different technical aspects of music and dance through the character of Citralekhā, a friend of Urvaśī and Sahajanyā. Kālidās has described the characteristics of dance-types like *dvipa-dīkā, jambhalikā, khaṇḍadhārā, carcarī, bhinnakā, valān-tikā,* etc., which Citralekhā mastered from his dance-teacher. The dance-type, *khaṇḍadhārā* was one of the varieties of the dance, *dvipadikā* or *dvipadī.* Similarly it has also been described that the dance of *jambhalikā* was one of the varieties of *dvipadikā.* From this it is understood that the dance, *dvipadikā* or *dvipadī* was the main or basic dance, and *khaṇḍadhārā, jambhalikā,* etc. evolved from it. It has been mentioned that the dance-type of *khaṇḍaka* or *khaṇḍikā* was also prevalent during the Gupta period, and it was different from the dance of *khaṇḍadhārā.*

In Śrī-Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī,* we also come across with the dance, *dvipadikā.* The commentator of the *Ratnāvalī* has mentioned that there were four kinds of *dvipadikā,* and *khaṇḍaka* was one of them. Again we get the reference

of the dance, *carcarī* which used to be practised as an alternate one or as a variety of the dance, *dvipadikā*. The dance, *carcarī* used to be played with the song, *carcarī*, which used to be composed of three or four lines. It is said that the dance, *carcarī* used to be practised by the female dancers, and it was a type of *lāsya*. According to Vema-Bhupāla, the dance, of *carcarī* used to be applied with the prime sentiment, *śṛṅgāra*, but Rāṇā Kumbha differed from Vema-Bhupāla, because, according to Rāṇā Kumbha, *carcarī* used to be played with any one of the *rasas* and *tālas*. Kālidās has mentioned about other types of dance, and they were *khuraka*, *kuṭilika*, *galitaka*, etc. Śāraṅgdeva has mentioned about them in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* in the early 13th century A. D., and from these it is learnt that those dance-types were traditionally preserved upto the end of the ancient period. Kavi Śūdraka has mentioned about different kinds of classical dances in his *Mṛcchakaṭika*. Viṣṇu-śarmā (2nd century A. D.) has described about different dance-motifs in his *Pañcatantra*. In the Gupta period, the culture of classical dances were much appreciated. It is said that Mahārājā Chandragupta-Vikramāditya (5th century A. D.) was a great patron of dance and music, and he constructed the dancing and music halls, attached to his Royal palace for the proper culture of classical dance and music. His able son, Mahārājā Kumāragupta also preserved the tradition of his father, and used to patronise the dancers and musicians in his Royal palace. Maukharirāja Prabhākara-vardhana of Thāneśvara was also a great patron of classical dance. He also constructed a dancing hall in his Royal palace where dancers, both male and female, used to get privilege to culture the art of dance in its true perspective.

It is interesting to note that a dancing scene of some *naṭīs* on an open air stage is seen depicted in the Udayagiri Caves near Bhubaneśvara, Orissā, which proves that the distinctive style of classical dance, as has been described in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, was in practice long before the advent of the Christian era. Well has it been said by an art critic that on the walls of the Caves of Udayagiri "are to be seen in a fairly well-preserved shape exquisite works of art depicting different facets of life. The precision and accuracy with which the artist used his chisel inspire the awe and admiration of anyone who visits the Caves".

It has already been said that during Bharat's time, the dance-motifs took a new and novel course. The *cārīs* and *aṅgharās* were used in dances, as they were in vogue during the Epic time. Bharata has mentioned about a *mārga* dance, and it used to be performed in accompaniment of the drums like *puṣkara*. Generally two or three *puṣkaras* were used in ancient time, and among them two were placed erect and one leaning. The hand-poses (*mudrās*) were used to express the ideas of the dancers, and this process was handed down from the beginning of the classical period (600-500 B. C.). Bharata has defined the 24 *ayuta-hastas* and 13 *yuta-hastas* (cf. NS. IX), which were considered essential for the classical dances. He has also explained *cārī* and *mahācāri* (cf. NS. XI) and *maṇḍalas* like *ākāśa* (aerial) and *bhauma* (terrestrial), together with different graceful movements in accordance with aesthetic sentiments and moods (*gati-pracāra*, *rasa* and *bhāva*—cf. NS. XIII). The dance-equipments like *cārī*, *karaṇa*, *khaṇḍa*, *maṇḍala*, etc. were interrelated with one another.

Now, what do we mean by the term '*cārī*'? A *cārī* connotes the idea of articulation of limbs like leg, upper

part of the leg, thigh and waist. Even the movements of a leg were known as *cārī*. The movements of two legs were known as *karaṇa*, and when all the *karaṇas* were joined together, they were known as *khaṇḍa*. Again three or four *khaṇḍas* used to form a *maṇḍala*. A *cārī* and a *maṇḍala* used to be demonstrated together. In the 12th chapter of the *Nāṭyaśātra*, Bharata has described about the *maṇḍalas* like *utkrānta*, *vicitra*, *sūcividdha*, etc. The *maṇḍalas* were shown along with the *aṅgas* and the combination of musical instruments, which were known as *kutapa*. Bharata has described about four kinds of *kutapa* or orchestra in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. From the archaeological excavations, we come to know that the classical dances like *tāṇḍava*, *ūrdhva-tāṇḍava*, etc. used to be practised long before Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, fame. A statuette of a dancer (*naṭa*) in the posture of *ūrdhva-tāṇḍava* has been discovered from the historic Bhīr Mound site of Taxilā, which proves that classical dances were in practice in the pre-Christian India. The motif of the dancer of the Bhīr Mound site seems to be that of the dance prevalent long before the Maurya and Gupta periods. The statuette has been preserved in the Museum of Taxilā, and it was discovered by Sir John Marshall in 1913. Sir John Marshall has assigned a pre-Mauryan date about the 5th-4th century B. C. to the dance posture of the *naṭa*. The dancer is in the *lalāṭa-tilaka* posture, composed of a *vṛścka* pose with one of the legs thrown up to the head for making a *tilaka* on the forehead by means of the big toe. Regarding the *ūrdhva-tāṇḍava*, Nandikeśwara has said (vide the *Bharatārṇava*, p. 416):

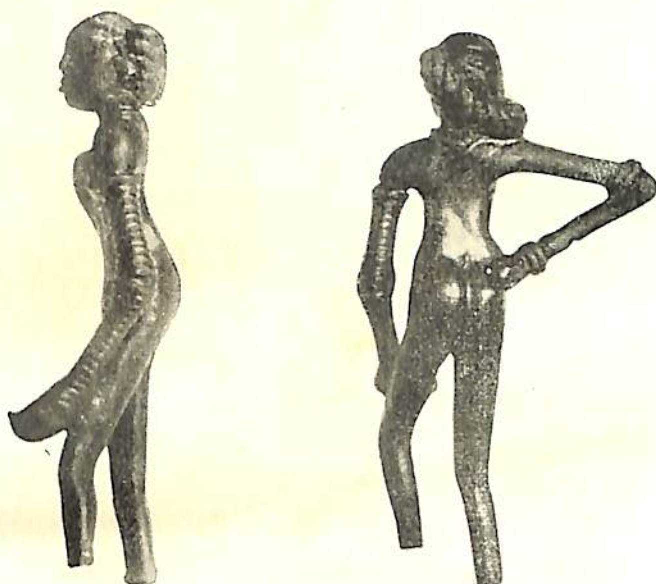
Sthitvā vāmapadenaiva-mullokitadṛśā tadā//
Kuñcitaṃ dakṣiṇaṃ vāmaṃ dakṣiṇa-śruti-saṁnidhau/
Nibeśya śikharau hastau tayoḥ sthānamihocyate//

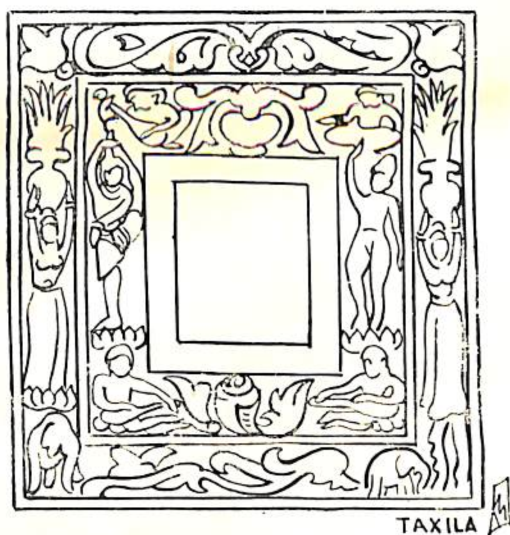
Dakṣiṇaḥ śikharo hasto vakṣaḥsthānamupāśritaḥ/
Vāmaśca hastastanmaulau dakṣiṇāṅghṛmupāgataḥ//
Etādṛśa-nṛtiṃ kuryādūrdhvatāṇḍava-nartane/

That is, standing on the left-foot and assuming the *ullōkita* (slighty upward) look, the dancer lifts the left-leg and holds it up in front of the right-ear, the right-hand holding *śikhara-mudrā* is held at the chest and the left-hand holding the same *mudrā* is held over the head clasping the right-foot. And in this posture, the dance takes place. The *tāla* for this *tāṇḍava* is *jhampa*, which consists of a *druta*, a *druta-virāma* and a *laghu* making up 2¼ *mātrās*. The dance-syllables are: kiṇa jakaku thātaddhita ḍhem tho thariku tha dhi ta ḍhem. These syllables are uttered in a wonder-struck manner.

India has been preserving the tradition of art of dance, both folk and classical, from very ancient time, and its tangible evidences are found in different rock-cut temples of India. Besides the figure, found in Terracotta from Taxilā, numerous dancing postures of Yakṣiṇīs and celestial nymphs are found engraved on Bhārhut railings, Amarāvatī, Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri. Nāgārjunagonda, Ajantā and other rock-cut temples. They are the genuine proof of culture of dance and music in ancient Indian society. It is true that there might have happened many changes in motifs and techniques of dances throughout the ages on account of new innovations and new outlooks, and as such the dance-motifs and dancing of the ancient times differ from those of the mediaeval, and those of the mediaeval, from the modern, but the art and its spirit and practice still remain in their prestine glories. Various types and styles of dances of various ages have enriched the treasury of this

dynamic art of dance. In connection with his valuable article, *A New Document of Indian Dancing*, Prof. O. C. Gāngoly has said that the tradition of Indian dance art had disappeared from the North, surviving in the practices of the gilds of dances under the active patronage of South Indian Temple Foundations. But the Bhīr Mound slab of Taxilā has proved that the dance art used to be cultured in ancient time in its true perspective throughout India, irrespective of boundaries of North and South. In North India, the classico-religious dance of Manipurī school evolved with new and novel technique in Manipur, Assam. Besides, many socio-religio-folk type of dances evolved in different rural areas of India. In Bengal, different types of simple dances evolved in connection with the song-types of *bāul*, *gambhirā*, *kīrtana*, together with different religious *vratas*, rites and ceremonies. The classico-folk type of dances like *seraikela*, *rāibenśe*, *chhow*, etc. also evolved in the North, in Serāikela, Puruliā, Maūrabhañj and other districts of West Bengal and Orissā. The classical form of *kathaka* dance evolved in Lucknow. It is said that Īśvariprasād was the innovator of this graceful type of dance, and it was aferwards nourished and enriched by Ṭhākurprasād, Mahārāj Vṛndādīn, Acchan Mahārāj, Śambhu Mahārāj, Ājamat Āli, Rahat Āli and others. At Vārāṇasi, Allahabad, Jaipur and other places in the North, different types of classical dance also evolved. The *kathaka* dance is purely based on aesthetic sentiments and moods, together with the *nayāka-nāyikā-bheda*. A special school of dance also evolved at Śāntiniketan, in connection with the *gītināṭyas* (musical dramas) and *nṛtya-nāṭyas* (dance-dramas), composed by Kaviguru Rabindranāth Tagore. Rabindranāth himself devised the dances for his songs and dramas with the help





1. The Bronze-Dancing Girl, Mohenjo-daro (5000—3500 B.C.).
2. The *urdha-tandava* motif of dance at the Bhir Mound, Taxila. (5th—4th Century B.C.)





1. The dance-motif of Lalitam in the Natyasastra (2nd Century A.D.)

2. The Piramid-dance, Bharhut.







Sarasvati, Halebid



The Dancing Devi (Madanakai),
Belur, Hyderabad

of different techniques and textures of dances like *bharata-nāṭyam*, *kathākali*, *manipurī*, *kathak*, *serāikela*, *tibe* *kaṇḍuyana* of Ceylon, together with the dance... Java, Bali and other places, In fact, all the motifs and techniques of all kinds of dance, indegenous and foreign, were incorporated in his styles or schools of dance, and yet it was possessed of a special characteristic of its own.

The *bharatanāṭyam*, *kathākalī* and other types of dance evolved in the South. The Śiva-Naṭarāja of South India is a charming and marvellous example of Indian dance as well as of plastic art. Every part of the image of Naṭarāja throbs with dynamic rhythmic movements. A separate temple at Chidāmbaram is consecrated to Śiva-Naṭarāja. In the four Gopurams of the Chidāmbaram temples, there are 108 beautiful illustrations of *karaṇas*, most of which were engraved according to the dictums, as laid down in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It has been said: "On both side-walls of each of the long entrances of the four towers of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidāmbaram, there are sculptures in dancing poses, carved out on stone-pillars, situated near the walls at a reasonable distance from one another. On each side of the entrance there are seven pillars, each having eight compartments. In each of these compartments of equal size, there are three figures, one big and two small in size. The large figure of a female dancer represents the dancing poses or a *karaṇa*, and the small ones represent two drummers standing on the sides of the dancer. Below each compartment the Sanskrit verse of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata, describing the particular *karaṇa*, depicted in the compartment, is inscribed on the stone in legible *Grantha* script". Thus, there are $(7 \times 8 = 56)$ poses or *karaṇas* on each side making a total of 112 figures on both

the sides of each entrance. Out of the 112, only 108 figures represent the 108 *karaṇas* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Indian dance is divided into four main categories, as they represent four types of graceful school or style, and they appear different for their special techniques, textures and styles or interpretations. As for example.

(1) The *bharatanāṭyaṃ* is the purest and oldest form of Indian dance. It evolved in the South, and has preserved the pure Indian tradition as well as Hindu spirit. It is said that the dance-form of *bharatanāṭyaṃ* was designed by Muni Bharata, the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Brahmā or Brahmā-bharata initiated Muni Bharata into this art of dancing, and Bharata cultured and preached it in the world in a new and novel form. Some are of opinion that the real significance of the name or term *bharatanāṭyaṃ* was taken from the syllables of *bha* + *ra* + *ta*, which mean *bhāva* + *rāga* + *tāla*. So we can take that the classical dance, *bharatanāṭyaṃ* is the embodiment of these three categories, emotional sentiments and moods, melodies and rhythms. These are essential for making perfect this type of dance. It has been said before that Bharata has classified the dance-motifs into two main classes, *nṛtta* and *nṛtya*. The term, *nṛtta* signifies the pure or abstract form of dance, where as *nṛtya*, the expository dance that employs an elaborate gesture language and interpretative dance or *abhinaya*. So the dance, *bharatanāṭyaṃ* is a harmonious blending of both these types of dance, *nṛtta* and *nṛtya*. It is impersonated by a single dancer, usually a woman. Different costly costumes are used in this dance. A small group of orchestra, consisting a singer or a group of them, a flute and a drummer, which rouses the memory of the ancient *vṛnda-vādya*, *kutapa*. The music of the orchestra

plays the role of commentary on the dance. The *bols* with different rhythms and tempi are executed by means of the feet, and different gestures i. e. movements of different parts of the body, including that of eyes and eyebrows, together with different hand-poses (*mudrās*), embellish the majestic *bharatanaṭyāṃ* (dance). It is said that this elegant style of dance was developed by the dancing girls (*devadāsīs*) in different temples as well as in Royal Durbārs of South India. It was previously known as '*dāsīyāttaṃ*'.

The following features of dance like *āllāripu*, *yatisvaraṃ*, *śabdaṃ*, *varṇaṃ*, *padaṃ* and *tillānā* are attached with the present system of the *bharatanāṭyaṃ*, whereas in ancient time, the colourful features like *sādiranāṭyaṃ*, *bhāgavatamela-nāṭaka*, *kurubhañji* and *kucipuḍi* were in practice along with the majestic dance, *bharatanāṭyaṃ*. The *sādiranāṭyaṃ* used to be practised with its different phases like *dāsīātyaṃ* or *dāsīāttaṃ*, *cinuamelaṃ*, *bhogamelaṃ*, *tāñjorī*, etc. The *bhāgavatamelaṃ* was religious in nature, and used to be practised mostly by the Brāhmiṇs. The *kurubhañji* was like a ballet or combined performance of dance (*vṛnda-nṛtya*) and used to be performed especially by women. Its ancient name was '*kutral-kurubhuñji*'. Siddhendra Yogī introduced the dance-type of *kucipuḍi*. This type of dance-feature was practiced by male dancers.

Among the dance-features, *āllāripu*, *yatisvaraṃ*, *śabdaṃ*, *varṇaṃ*, *padaṃ* and *tillānā*, the feature *āllāripu* or *āllārimpu* is first taken for the unfoldment of the beautiful lustre of the limbs to be used or performed in dance. The artist first performs the *pūrvaraṅga* and asks for blessings from the audiences. Then it slowly and gracefully proceeds to

exhibit different movements of the dance. Then *yatisvaraṃ* is taken to elaborate and beautify the gradual development of the dance, *bharatanāṭyaṃ*. This feature is exhibited with the help of the *sargams* or 'cluster of tones', having meladic form and value, and it is accompanied by drums and cymbals (*mṛdaṅga* and *mandirā*). This type of dance-feature really rouses the emotional sentiments, and creates a sensation of pleasure in the audiences.

Next to *yatisvaraṃ*, the dance-feature, *śabdaṃ* is performed with great skill. The feature, *śabdaṃ* connotes the idea of devotional music, having dramatic themes in it. After *śabdaṃ*, *varṇaṃ* is taken with the combination of *nāṭya*, *nṛtta* and *nṛtya*, which are the essential features of dramatic performances. In this dance-feature, the tunes of the orchestral songs are accompanied by rhythms and emotional sentiments and moods. At last the dance-feature, *tillānā* is performed with different tempi like slow, medium and rapid (*vilamvita*, *madhya* and *druta*). The entire performance of the dance, *bharatanāṭyaṃ* is exhibited in the primary sentiment (*ādirasa*), *śṛṅgāra*, which, according to Muni Bharata, is the best and most divine sentiment.

(2) The dance-drama, *kathākali* evolved in Mālābār (in Kerala) in South India. At first, the themes of *kathākali* used to be drawn from the sacred stories of Rāmachandra and Śrī Kṛṣṇa, taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Parāṇas*.[1] Later on, it has drawn its themes from different Hindu myths and legends. It is dramatic in form, accompanied by

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1 The themes of ancient type of *kathākali* were composed of saered stories of Rāmachandra and Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and they were known as '*rāmanāṭyaṃ*' and '*kṛṣṇanāṭyaṃ*'.

interpretative dancing. It contains not only the dance technique, but also calls for 'a high degree of mimicry and histrionic abilities'. The emotional sentiments and moods (*rasa* and *bhāva*) play a prominent role in this dance, and so it is duty of the performers of *kathākali* to evoke the corresponding *rasas* and *bhāvas* in the spectators. The performers are required to demonstrate the movement of every muscle of the face in order to express mental states and their paychological implications.

The vigorous and masculine form of *kathākali* is expressed in the *tāṇḍava* style of dance. The *veera* and *raudra rasas* are its predominent features. The musicians recite the stories, the musical instruments are played with the songs, and the actors of *kathākali* appear one by one and effeciently present their graceful and expressive dances. As the most energetic aspect of this dance is *kalasamas* or pure *tāṇḍava* dance, so the feature is *thiranottama* or 'peering over the curtain'. This dance-type is really artistic and colourful.

(3) *Kathaka* is a popular type of art-dance of North India. It employs both the aspects of dance, *nāṭyadharmī* and *lokadharmī*. The *naṭyadharmī* dance-style of *kathaka* is imaginative or idealistic, as it evokes aspirations and emotions in the mind of the spectators with symbolic language, whereas the *lokadharmī* one is more realistic in its aspects. It is said that in the Muhammedan period, the *kathaka* dance was patronised by the Muslim Rulers, and the Hindu Rulers, who were under the influence of Muslim rule, were also lovers of this type of dance. In the beginning of the 20th century, the contributions of Mahārāj Kālkā-prasād and Mahāraj Brindādīn were immense in the field of *kathaka* dance. Kālkā-prasād and Brindādīn were the sons of

Ṭhākuradās, who was the renowned court-musician of Nawāb Wāzid Āli Shāh of Lucknow. It is said that this last Nawāb of Lucknow, Wāzid Āli Shāh was a great lover as well as a patron of the *kathaka* dance. Mahārāj is Kālkāprasād and Brindādīn paid more attention to both of the aspects of *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya*, and perfected or renovated them in their own ways for applying them to the *kathaka*. They introduced *paraṇas*, which were the recitation of the lyrical passages with rhythmic syllables. The *paraṇas* were accompanied by *gats*, *toḍābs* and *ṭukrās*. Besides Kālkāprasād and Brindādīn, the names of Acchan Mahārāj, Śambhu Mahārāj, Kārtickrām and Jailāl Mahārāj (of Jaipur) are worth-mentioning in the field of *kathaka* dance.

In the *kathaka* dance, the facial expressions, together with the hand-poses are known as *mudrās* and *abhinaya*. A *toḍāb* is a dramatic sequence with exhibiting action in a rapid tempo (*druta laya*), and a *tukrā* is a brilliant rhythmic sequence 'which excels in double and treble timing'. Generally *tālas* like *dhāmār*, *ektāl*, *tritāl*, *jhāptāl*, *dādrā*, etc. and musical instruments like a *sāreṅgī* and a pair of *tabal* or a *pākhwāj* are used in the *kathaka* dance.

(4) The *manipurī* dance is essentially lyrical, aesthetic, sober, serene, and purely religious in nature. From differant motifs of this dance, it seems that an ancient form of socio-religious dance has been stylized in it in a new pattern. Some believe that *manipurī* type of dance reminds us of the ancient epic dance of *hallisaka* which used to be performed by the Bhaima wives and men during the time of the *Mahābhārata-Harivamśa*. It is also seen that in the old form of *manipurī* dance, religio-mythological themes of Śiva-Pārvatī used to be adopted and performed,

but with the advent of Vaiṣṇavism, this type of theme was replaced by the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*.

The *manipurī* dance is mainly divided into four, *laibarobā*, *astra-vidyā*, .*calan-gāthan* and *rāsalīlā*. The *laibarobā* type of dance is almost obsotele at present. The *astra-vidyā* is an ancient type of dance, and it is known as the sword or spear dance. The *calan-gāthan* type of *manipurī* dance was specially introduced at the advent of Vaiṣṇavism at Manipur. It may be called a *kīrtana*-dance, accompanied by musical instruments like *manjirā*, *karatāla* and *khola*. At Manipur, *khola* is known as *mṛdaṅga*, and the size of the *karatāla* is large. The *kīrtana* songs accompany the *manipurī* dance.

The *rāsalīlā* type of *manipurī* dance is a most popular one in Manipur, Assam. It represents the sportive play of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and his divine consort Rādhā. The *rāsalīlā* is divided into four, *kuñja*, *vasanta*, *māha* and *nitya*. The first three types, *kuñja*, *vasanta* and *māha* are performed in the months of Āświn, Vaiśākha and Kārtika, while the *nitya-rāsa* is performed at any time in any festival. The *rāsa*-dances begin with themes of *Gītagovinda*, *Govinda-līlāmṛta* and other Vaṣṇava literary works. The *Sūtradhara* first explains the subject-matter of the dance and introduces the main feature of the play, and then the dancers begin their dances with graceful manner. The *goṣṭalīlā* dance is also performed in the month of Kārtika. Special types of costume are used in the *manipurī* dance, They are very richly bedected and are costly and colourful. These costumes are specially made in Manipur.

The *chhow* dance of West Bengal originated first in Serāikela and Mayūrbhañj, the adjacent ex-feudatory States

of Orissā. It is known as a religious type of dance of Bengal, specially played on the occasion of *caitra-parva* or Spring Festival in the month of April in honour of Naṭa Bhairava, the dancing Śiva. The dance *chhow* forms an integral part of *pūjā*-ceremony of the deity, which is intended to supplicate blessings on the Ruler himself and his subjects.

The word *chhow* literally means a 'mask' (*mukhoṣa*) in Seraikela. Śrī D. N. Paṭṭanāik has said: "As it is a mask-dance, in Seraikela, they call it the *chhow-nṛtya*. But in Mayūrbhañj, the *chhow*-dancers do not use masks. Both tradition and legend prove that this form of dance was first known as *chhāunī-nṛtya* (camp-dance). *Chhāunī* literally means a military camp, where Oriyā soldiers (known as *Pāika*) were practising war techniques through dance. Later on *chhāunī-nṛtya* came to be known as *chhow-nṛtya*".[1] Śrī Paṭṭanāik further informs us that the *chhow* dance of Mayūrbhañj, in its original state, was in the form of 'Fari-khela' or 'sword-play'. The participants were known as Farikar or sword-player. "This was done with sword and shield in hand. The sword-play was almost in the form of war-dance. Various war-drums were only accompanying instruments of the dance".[2] The primary aim of this war-dance was to develope the physical excitement and courage in the dancing warriors. Some magical ideas were also attached to this type of dance, for creating fear and awe in the mind of the enemies.

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1 Vide the *Souvenir* of the Kālā-Vihāra-Kendra, Cuttack, 1959-60, p. 18.

2 Ibid., pp. 18-19.

The basic principles of *chhow* dance were known as *upalaya*, popularly known as *uphuli*. They were again divided into two sub-classes, *hātiārdhara* and *kalībhaṅga*. "The principles of former type are for male characters and the latter type for female characters. *Hātiādhara* literally means 'holding an arm', the principles of which are very vigorous". It is interesting to note that in every performance of *chhow* dance (*naṭki*), marching movements are clearly discernible. So, from very close observation it is proved that *chhow* dance of Mayūrbhañj was, somehow or other, different from that of Serāikela, because the former was purely a heroic war-dance.

It is said that from the *chhāunī-nṛtya* a new type of dance like *asari-chhow-nṛtya* evolved with its art-value and special beauty. The *asari-chhow-nṛtya* became very popular and prominent among the people, and it is nowadays played for popular entertainment and culture. Though in the beginning, war formed the theme of the *chhow* dance, yet gradually the stories from legends, folk-tales, the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Purāṇas* were adopted for constituting the theme of *chhow*. "During the reign of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Chandra Bhañja Deo (19th century), *chhow* dance already established itself as a distinct school of dancing in India. He himself was taking particular interest in the dance and with the help of the *nṛtya-gurus* (dance-masters) codified the techniques of *chhow* dance for its systematic training and culture, which was not done so far".[1]

A peculiar type of music accompanies the *chhow* dance, the tunes of which are folk. The wind intruments of *sānāi* type, known as *mahuri*, and various types of big war-

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1 Ibid., p. 20.

drums, known as *dhumsa*, a small drum, known as *nāgārā*, *dhol*, *chaḍchaḍi* are played with the *chhow* dance. The music or sounds of the musical instruments reflect the moods of the *chhow*-dancers, so as to interpret the tunes correctly. The dance begins with slow footsteps with *vilamvita-kalā*, known as *chāli*. Then gradually speed of the dance and tempo are increased, and the dance is performed in the *madhyama-kalā*, known as *upalaya*, and at last the climax of the dance is performed in quick tempo or *druta-kalā*, known as *naṭki*. Mostly the tunes of the *jhumur* songs are played in this part of the dance.

Besides these, there are verious types of dance, classical, classico-folk and folk, prevalent in India, and they are not only treated merely as a form of art, but also as the perenial source of living inspiration and joy. The regional or folk type of dances like *ghaṭu* of Sylhet, *gambhīrā* of Māldah, *rāivenśe* and *gājan* of Bīrbhūm, *karaṃ* and *nāṭuyā* of Puruliā, *bibu* of Assam, *jhumur* of the aboriginal Sāntāls of West Bengal, *pāik* of different rural regions of Bengal, as well as different folk dances of Rājasthān, Kāshmere, Punjāb, Mahārāṣṭra, Orissā, Madras, Ceylon and other places are worth-mentioning in this connection.

Modern type of dances are also evolving with their unique styles and graces. And it is a fact that all kinds of dances, classical and folk, help men to regulate their ways of social life by means of observing different measured rhythms of dances, and thus they are helped to approach nearer to the gigantic rhythm of the Nature or Prakṛti, which regulates and vitalizes all the time all animate and inanimate objects of the universe. The rhythms of different dances are the miniature forms of the spontaneous universal dance of Nature, which is symbolized as Śiva

Naṭarāj, and if the artistes properly concentrate their minds and energies upon the regulated rhythms of dances of Nature, they will be in a position to get nearer to perfection, which will bestow upon them eternal balance and everlasting bliss.

Now let us give a short account of characteristics of different classes of dance, as described by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The 4th chapter of the NS. is known as the *tāṇḍavalakṣaṇa* one. *Tāṇḍava* is the most ancient and classical type of dance. It has been said before that the dance, *tāṇḍava* is divided into two, violent one, meant for the male dancer, and gentle one (*sukumāra* or *lāsya*), meant for the female dancer. Bharata has said in this connection,

Prāyeṇa tāṇḍava-vidhir-devastutyāśrayo bhavet/
Sukumāra-prayogastu sṛṅgāra-rasa-sambhavaḥ//

—NS. IV, 265-66.

That is, the classic dance, *tāṇḍava* is meant mostly for the adoration of gods, but the gentler *sukumāra* (*lāsya*) form of dance is related to the prime sentiment, *sṛṅgāra*. *Tāṇḍava* is majestic and heroic in its nature. It is accompanied by *aṅgahāra*, *karaṇa*, *recaka*, *sthāna*, *cārī*, etc., as well as different hand-poses (*mudrās*) and gestures and postures (*hāva* and *bhāva*): "*nānā-kāraṇa-samyuktai-raṅgahārair-vibhūṣitaṃ*."[1] While mentioning about *aṅgahāras*, Bharata has said,

Tato vai taṇḍunā proktaṁstvaṅgahārān mahātmanā/
Nānā-karaṇa-ṣamyuktān vyākhyāsyāmi sa-recakān//

—NS. IV, 18-19.

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5 Cf. Sadāśiva Rath Sharmā: *Tāṇḍava-Poses in Orissā Sculptures*, in the 'Souvenir' of the Kalā-Vikāśa-Kendra, Cuttack, 1958.

The *aṅgahāras* are 32 in number, and they are: *sthirahasta*, *paryastaka*, *sucīviddha*, *apaviddha*, *ākṣiptaka*, *udghaṭṭita*, *viṣkambha*, *aparājita*, *viṣkambhāpasṛta*, *mattakrīḍā*, *svastikarecita*, *pārśvasvastika*, *vṛścika*, *bhramara*, *mattaskhalitaka*, *madavilasita*, *gatimaṇḍala*, *paricchinna*, *parihṛttarecita*, *vaiśākharecita*, *parāvṛtta*, *alātaka*, *pārśvaccheda*, *vidyutbhrānta*, *uddhṛtaka*, *ālīḍha*, *recita*, *acchurita*, *akṣiptarecita*, *sambhrānta*, *upasarpita* and *ardha-nikuṭṭaka*.

The *aṅgahāras* are known by their different movements of hands and feet, and so all the *aṅgahāras* consist of different *karaṇas*. The *karaṇas* are but a combination of movements of hands and feet in dance. Two *karaṇas* make one *mātrikā*, and two, three or four *mātrikās* constitute one *aṅgahāra*. Again three *karaṇas* make a *kalāpaka*, four, a *saṇḍaka*, and five, a *saṁghātaka*. Thus the *aṅgahāras* consist of six, seven, eight or nine *karaṇas*. Bharata has said in this regard:

Hasta-pāda-samāyogo nṛttasya karaṇaṃ bhavet/
Dve nṛtta-karaṇe caiva bhavato nṛtta-mātrikāḥ//
Dvābhyāṃ tri-caturābhir-vyāpyaṅgahārastu mātṛbhiḥ/
Tribhiḥ kalāpako jñeyaḥ caturbhir-maṇḍalakastathā//
Pañcaiva karaṇāni syuḥ saṁghātaka iti smṛtaḥ/
Ṣaḍbhirvā saptabhirvāpi aṣṭabhir-navabhistathā//
Karanairiha samyuktā aṅgahārāḥ prakīrtitāḥ//

—*Nāṭyaśāstra* (Vārāṇasī edition), IV. 30-33.

Bharata has given descriptions of 108 *karaṇas*, composed of different movements of hands and feet: "*eteṣāmiha vkṣyāmi hasta-pāda-vikalpanaṃ*" (vide all the definitions and descriptions of the 108 *karaṇas* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Vārāṇasī edition, IV. 34-55). These *karaṇas* are applicable to dance, fight, personal combat, walking and movements

in general. The *nṛttahastas* are applied to the *karaṇas*, the *sthānas*, *cāris* and *nṛttahastas* are known as *mātrikā*, the variations of which are known as *karaṇas*.

Bharata has also given the definitions of 108 *karaṇas* and different *aṅgahāras*. Regarding *recaka*. Bharata has said,

Caturo recakāṁścaiva gadato me nibodhata/
Pāda-recaka ekaḥ syāt dvitīyaḥ kaṭi-recakaḥ//
Kara-recakastṛtīya stu caturthaḥ kaṇṭha-recakaḥ/
Recitākhyaḥ pṛthag-bhāve valena cābhidhīyate//
Udvāhanāt pṛthag-bhāvāt valanāccāpi recakaḥ/
Pārśvāt pārśva tu gamanaṃ skhalitaiḥ calitaiḥ padaiḥ//
Vividhaścaiva pādasya pāda-recaka ucyate/
Trikasyodvarttanaṃ caiva kaṭī-calanameva ca//
Tathāpasarpaṇaṃ caiva kaṭī-recaka ucuate/
Udvartanaṃ parikṣepo vikṣepa-parivartanaṃ//
Visarpaṇaṃ ca hastasya hasta-recaka ucyate/
Udvāhanaṃ sannamanaṃ tathā pārśvasya sannatiḥ//
Bhramanaṃ cāpi vijñeyo grīvāyā recako vudhaiḥ/
Recakairaṅgahāraiśca nṛtyantaṃ vīkṣya śaṁkaraṃ//
Sukumāra-prayogeṇa nṛtyati sma ca pārvatī/
Mṛdaṅga-bherī-paṭāhaiḥ bhāṇḍa-diṇḍima-gomukhaiḥ/
Paṇavair-dardurādyaiśca nānā-todyaih pravāditaaḥ//

—*Nāṭyaśastra* (Vārāṇasī edition), IV. 240-248.

That is, among the *recakas*, the first is known as *pāda-recaka*, the second, as *kaṭī-recaka*, the third, as *hasta-recaka*, and the fourth, as *grīvā-recaka*. The movements of these four limbs, foot, waist, hand and neck are connected with the *recaka*. The term *recaka* connotes the idea of moving round of the limbs of the body separately or 'its drwaing up or its movement of any kind separately'. To cite the

English translation of the four *racakas*, done by Dr. M. Ghose, it can be said that among the four kinds of *recaka*: "*Pādarecaka* going from side to side with wavering feet or with differently moving feet, is called their *recaka*. *Kaṭī-recaka* rising up the *trika* and the turning of the waist as well as its drawing back, is called the *kaṭī-recaka*. *Hasta-recaka*—rising up, throwing out, putting forward, turning round and drawing back of the hand is called its *recaka*. *Grīvā-recaka*—rising up, lowering and bending the neck sideways, and other movements of it are called its recaka. Seeing Śaṅkara (Śīva) dance with *recakas* and *aṅgahāras*, Pārvatī too performed a gentle dance (lit. danced with delicate forms), and this dance was followed by the playing of musical instruments like *mṛdaṅga*, *bherī*, *paṭāha*, *diṇḍima*, *gomukha*, *paṇava* and *dardura*". All these musical drums were made of clay and wood, and these drums, accompanied by lute (*veeṇā*) and flute (*veṇu* or *vaṁśa*) used to from the *kutapa* in ancient time. It has been said before that the drum, *puṣkara* was made of clay or wood, it accompanied dance and music in ancient time.

In the Orissan treatise, *Abhinayacandrikā*, written by Maheswara Mahāpātra, in the 12th century A.D., it is found that some new types of hand-pose (*mudrā*) were used in ancient Orissi dance, and they are also evident from different sculptural representations in different temples of Orissā. The Jaina Cave-temples of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri provide numerous examples of representations of dance, and they were curved on different facades in low relief. One of the earliest ruined temples at Bhubaneśvara is the Bhārateśvara near the Rāmeśvara is still preserving remains of some sculptures of hand-poses and dancing

postures, which, it is believed, were used in the Orissan dances and dramatic plays. "A sunken panel marking the transition between the cubical and the curvilinear portions of the temple, shows among other motifs, a procession of Śiva's marriage in which Lord Śiva riding Nandī is headed by a procession consisting of the gods such as Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Agni, Nārada and Śiva-gaṇas, and of the two dancing girls throwing their hands in ecstacy with the rhythmic movements of their feet. The freize is only partially preserved, but Nārada playing on the *veeṇā* and the two dancing girls heading the procession are clearly discernible. In the actual marriage scene of Śiva too, the dancing girls make their appearance. One scene of Śiva's marriage appearing in the Parasurāmeśvara temple depicts a dancing girl in midst of several deities with Śiva and Pārvatī as the bride-groom and the bride. Human activities and sentiments have no doubt been attributed to gods and goddesses and it is, therefore, interesting to note that the custom of engaging dancers and musicians on the occasion of marriage, so widely prevalent in modern times, goes back to hoary antiquity".[1]

The great temples of Purī and Koṇārka, built during the rule of the Gaṅgā dynasty in Orissā in the 12th century A.D., also preserve many sculptural remains of hand-poses and dance-postures. And it can be said without hasitation that those classical hand-poses and dance-postures clearly show the evidence that they were designed and curved according to the laws and principles as prescribed in

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1 Vide *The Souvenir*, publish by the Kalā-Vikāśa-Kendra, Cuttack (1958), p. 3.

Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and Nandīkeśvara's *Abhinayadarpaṇa*. The Orissi hand-poses and dance-postures gradually evolved with their special forms and graces in Orissā through the process of interchange of ideas of arts and cultures. Well has it been said by Dr. Pānigrāhī: "Through the perennial process of give and take, Orissā gave to and received from other parts of India certain characteristics of these fine arts and then giving them the impress of her own genius constituted to new system known to us as the Orissi music and the Orissi dance".[1]

The hand-poses of the Orissan dance, as mentioned in the text of Mahāpātra's *Abhinayacandrikā*, are fifty-eight in number. The single hand-poses are 26 and those of double hand-poses are 24 plus 8 traditional single hand-poses = 58. The Orissi dance is always accompanied by Orissi songs, composed by different ancient bards of Orissa, namely Kavi-samrāṭ Upendra Bhañja, Kavi-sūrya Baladeva Rath, Banamālī Dās, Gopāl Krishṇa and others. The performers of Orissi dance skilfully represent different hand-poses to express different meaning and significances of the songs, and thus they create the aesthetic value in the entire *abhinaya*.

Now a comprehensive chart of the Orissi hand-poses has been put forth by Dr. D. N. Paṭṭanāik in his article on *Hand-Gestures in Orissi Dance*. Let me take the privilege of quoting some portions of the chart, so as to throw some lights on the idea of the forms of the hand-poses,

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1 Cf. Dr. K. C. Pānigrāhī: *Sculptural Representation of Music and Dance in Orrisā* in the 'Souvenir', published by the Kalā-Vikāśa-Kendra, Cuttack, 1958, p. 10.

generally used in the Orissi dance. Dr. Paṭṭanāik has shown:

"*Abhinayachandrikā*	*Nāṭyaśāstra*	*Abhinayadarpaṇa*
Dhvaja	Patāka	...
Dhyāna	Arāla	...
Aṅkuśa	Kapittha	...
Bhaya	Mukula	...
Nirdeśika	...	Suchimūkha
		Mṛugaśīrṣa
Haṅsa-pakṣa	...	(Mṛgaśīrṣa?)
Gomukha	...	Siṁhamūkha
Mṛugākṣya		
(Mṛgākṣya)	...	Haṅsāsya
Ardhachandra	Ardhachandra	...
Āratrika	Śikhara	...
Kaṣipta (?)	Alapadma	...

"Other hand-gestures of the *Abhinayachandrikā*", he says, "namely Daṇḍa, Sarpaśīrṣa Balaya, Prabodhikā, Śūkachañchu, Lulita, Birodha, Tāmbula, Bastra, Chaturmukha and Chatura have no similarity with any of the hand-gestures, mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*. Mentions of Sarpaśīrṣa, Śukachañchu, Ardhachandra and Chatura are also found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, but except Ardhachandra others bear no similarity".[1]

It has been said before that the textual single hand-poses of Orissi dance are twenty-six and traditional single

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1 Vide Dr. D. N. Paṭṭanāik: *Hand-Gestures in Orissi Dance*, in the 'Souvenir', published by the Kalā-Vikāśa-Kendra, 1958, p. 28.

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ones are eight in number, constituting a total number of thirty-four, whereas in the *Nāṭyasastra*, the numbers of the single hand-poses are twenty-four and in the *Abhinaya-darpaṇa*, twenty-eight only.

APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER XII

I

General Rules for Dance (नृत्यस्यसामान्यविधिः):

अङ्गेनालम्बयेद्गीतं हस्तेनार्थप्रदर्शनम् ।
चक्षुर्भ्यां भावयेद्भावं पादाभ्यां तालनिर्णयः ॥१॥
यतो हस्तस्ततो दृष्टिर्यतो दृष्टिस्ततो मनः ।
यतो मनस्ततो भावो यतो भावस्ततो रसः ॥२॥

॥ नाट्यप्रारम्भलक्षणम् ॥

कुशीलवैर्यत्क्रियते नृत्यादौ तूर्यघोषणम् ।
तदम्बरमिति प्रोक्तं नाट्यशास्त्रविशारदैः ॥३॥
लयानुगोऽल्पनादः स्यान्मर्दलस्य ध्वनिर्यदा ।
भरतादिभिराचार्यैरायत्तं तदुदाहृतम् ॥४॥
नाटरागे प्रयुक्तस्तु तमालापं जगुर्बुधाः ।
तत्कारं जगदत्तादिरेवमेव प्रयोजयेत् ॥५॥
आदावन्ते धोदिगादं मध्ये पाटाक्षरैर्युतम् ।
मोहरेति संज्ञोऽसौ कथितो हरिभूभुजा ॥६॥
तत्कारश्च प्रयोक्तव्यो झम्पातालानुसारतः ।
ततो नाटपदस्याऽपि प्रयोगो रिदिरिष्यते ॥७॥
अड्डतालेन तत्कारं नान्यन्ते रिदिरिष्यते ।
ततो रिदिः कौतमपि कय्यड् लास्यपद्धतिः ॥८॥
उड्डुपानां द्वादश च लागश्च करणं ततः ।
व्यस्ता वाऽथ समस्ता व भ्रमर्यो बहुशोभिताः ॥९॥

अवाडाख्यं दुवाडं च कुवाडं नृत्तकर्मणि ।
इत्थं हि सर्वनाट्यानां प्रारम्भे कार्यमीरितम् ॥१०॥

॥ कौतलक्षणम् ॥

यत्किञ्चित्तालसंबन्धं देवताविषयात्मकम् ।
विचित्रपाटसंयुक्तं शब्दार्थैरुपशोभितम् ॥११॥
* * किन्तान्तं कौतुमुच्यते ।
ककारः श्वेतवर्णः स्यादौकारो रक्तवर्णकाम् ॥१२॥
तकारः श्यामवर्णः स्यादित्येतद्वर्णलक्षणम् ।
ककारे कञ्जभूमार्या उकारे विष्णुवल्लभा ॥१३॥
तकारे पार्वती प्रोक्ता कौतवर्णाधिदेवता ।

॥ कैव्यड् ॥

कैव्यड्वादिस्तु तत्कत्तो दिग्गिदेव···च ॥१४॥
शिरोभेदैः समायुक्तो दृष्टिस्थानकसंयुतः ।
नृत्तादौ हस्तानुगामी पादचारस्तु कैव्यड्ः ॥१५॥
वैशाखस्थानके स्थित्वा शिखरौ नाभिगौ करौ ।
पद्मपत्रस्थितं सूतं यद्वच्चलति शोभनम् ॥१६॥
तद्वद्गात्रे तु चलनं तदा किञ्चित्समाचरेत् ।
सव्येन जानुना भूमौ स्थित्वा तु तदनन्तरम् ॥१७॥
दक्षिणश्च तदा हस्तो वक्षस्थो ह्यलपद्मकः ।
वामहस्तं तदा कुर्याच्छिखरं नाभिदेशगम् ॥१८॥
धुतं तथा शिरः प्रोक्तं समदृष्टिरुदीरिता ।
दक्षिणं पुरतो व्यस्तं पादं मन्दं प्रचालयेत् ॥१९॥
अलपद्मश्च खटकामुखश्च त्रिपताककः ।
उत्थानवञ्चितः सव्येतरोऽन्यः खटकामुखः ॥२०॥
अधोमुखं पताकञ्च स्वस्वपार्श्वे प्रसारयेत् ।
शीर्षोपान्ते तु खटकामुखे न्यस्तालपल्लवः ॥२१॥

ततो नाभौ तु शिखरः स्वांसे स त्रिपताककः ।
पताकाख्यं दक्षहस्तं पार्श्वे स्वस्य प्रसारयेत् ॥२२॥
अङ्गान्तरे सकृत्कृत्वाप्युत्थानं तु शनैस्ततः ।
त्रिपताका वञ्चितं च दृष्टिरत्र प्रलोकिता ॥२३॥
अङ्गान्तरे भवेदेवं ततो नर्तनमाचरेत् ।
मण्डलाकारतत्पार्श्वे नटनं भ्रमणद्वये ॥२४॥
नाभौ तु शिखरं पार्श्वे पताकोऽन्यः प्रसारितः ।
नर्तने त्रिपताका तु पुरः शृङ्गारचारिका ॥२५॥
लताख्यस्त्वस्तिको हस्तः करस्तूत्तानवञ्चितः ।
पादं निकुञ्च्य वैशाखे स्थितः पूर्ववदाचरन् ॥२६॥

॥ आलापचारिका ॥

*   *   *   *

कुर्वति स्वेष्टरागेण शुष्कालापं तु गायके ॥२७॥
नर्तकी नृत्यति यदा सा प्रोक्ताऽलापचारिका ।
आलापचारीं वक्ष्येहं देशीपद्धतिमाश्रिताम् ॥२८॥
भरतार्णवमामन्थ्य सुधामिव समुद्धृताम् ।
अनिबद्धालापवतो नृत्तं तालानुवर्ति च ॥२९॥
आलापचारी सा ज्ञेया सर्वेषां चित्तरञ्जनी ।
समस्थाने स्थिता भूत्वा डोलाहस्तौ समाचयेत ॥३०॥
समं शिरस्तथा प्रोक्तं दृष्टिश्चापि समा भवेत् ।
समारब्धे तित्ततौ तु मस्तकं परिवाहितम् ॥३१॥
दृष्टिः प्रलोकिता चाऽत्र हस्तः पूर्वोक्त एव हि ।
निवातस्थानके दीपे चलनं तु यथा भवेत् ॥३२॥
काये तद्वच्चालनं स्यान्नर्तक्याः पार्श्वयोर्द्वयोः ।
तित्ततिः सुलुमारब्धे शिर आकम्पितं भवेत् ॥३३॥
दृष्टिराकम्पितं वामहस्तोरस्त्वलपल्लवः ।
दक्षिणस्तु पताकोऽङ्गे पुरः पश्चात्तु चालनम् ॥३४॥

हिन्ननङ्गुद्वयारब्धे त्ववधूतं तु तच्छिरः ।
अनुवृत्ता भवेद्-दृष्टिर्मूर्ध्नि हंसास्यनामकः ॥३५॥
पताको वामहस्तस्य पूर्ववद्गालचालनम् ।
यं कञ्चिद्रागमाश्रित्य पीतस्यानुगमस्तथा ॥३६॥
करणान्यनुकृत्यादि तालादिनर्तनं भवेत् ।
देशीयालापचारीत्थं कथिता कोहलादिभिः ॥३७॥

॥ नर्तनभेदाः ॥

ताण्डवं लास्यमित्येतत् द्वयं द्वेधा निगद्यते ।
लास्यं तु सुकुमाराङ्गं मकरध्वजवर्धनम् ॥३८॥
शुद्धलास्यं देशिका च प्रेरणा प्रेङ्खणेति च ।
कुण्डली दण्डिका चाऽपि कलशः सप्तधा स्तृतिः ॥३९॥
दक्षिणभ्रमणं पूर्वं वामस्य भ्रमणं ततः ॥४०॥
विद्युद्भ्रमणमेव स्याल्लताभ्रमणमेव च ।
ऊर्ध्वताण्डवमित्याहुः सप्तधा ताण्डवक्रमः ॥४१॥
तण्डुक्तमुद्धतप्रायप्रयोगं ताण्डवं स्मृतम् ।
पुष्पाञ्जलिकमश्चैव द्वादशोड्डुपलागकाः ॥४२॥
धुवाडश्च त्रिभेदश्च ताण्डवं परिकीर्तितम् ।
निकुञ्चितं कुञ्चितं च सम्यगाकुञ्चितं तदा ॥७३॥
पार्श्वकुञ्चितमेवं स्यादर्धकुञ्चितकं तथा ।
नटनं कथमित्याहुर्नाट्यं गीतप्रन्धकम् ॥४४॥
चिन्दुश्च दण्डमौरुश्च नृत्तमित्युच्यते बुधैः ।
इष्टतालेन संमिश्रं पाटाक्षरसुशोभितम् ॥४५॥
युक्ताक्षरविशेषेण गीतान्तं शब्द उच्यते ।
खुं खुं (झें झें)-कारौ प्रशस्तौ
द्वौ आदिशब्दौ वदन्ति हि ॥४६॥

इष्टपाटाक्षरोपेतं कलासिकसमाश्रयः ।
तालार्जवसुसंयुक्ता गिणतान्तं कलासिका ॥४७॥
तथागिडतकात्तान्तं जगदत्तादिरेव च ।
दिक्तत्तादिश्चाप्यथ वा गिणतान्तं च कैमरुः ॥४८॥
तकारो मध्यपादे स्याद्धिकारश्च हि पार्ष्णितः ।
तोकारः पादपार्श्वेन नकारोऽङ्गुलिभिर्भवेत् ॥४९॥
तिकारन्तु पदाग्रेण किकारश्च तलाद्भवेत् ।
पादस्याग्रप्रसरणे तकारः परिकीर्तितः ॥५०॥
ततो विपर्ययः प्रोक्तः तिकारस्य मनीषिभिः ।
तिष्ठन्त्या वामपादस्य गुल्फस्य स्पर्शनं यदि ॥५१॥
दक्षिणेन पदाग्रेण ताकित्तादिति योजयेत् ।
अङ्गुल्यग्रेण तोकारः तकारश्च तोकारवत् ॥५२॥
पादस्यान्तरपार्श्वेन गुकारश्च डुकारवत् । * * *

—Cf. *Bharatārṇava* of Nandikeśvara, edited by K. Vāsudeva Śāstrī, B.A. (published from Saraswati Mahal Library, Tānjore), 1957, pp. 491-510.

II

The Mythico-religious interpretations of Evolution of Dance, as described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*:

वज्र उवाच ॥

नृत्य सुत्पादितं केन ऋषिणा दैवतेन वा ।
एतन्मे संशयं छिन्धि त्वं हि सर्वविदुचसे ॥१॥

मार्कण्डेय उवाच ॥

एकार्णवे पुरा लोके नष्टस्थाव रजङ्गमे ।
शेषपर्याङ्कशयने सुप्ते मधुनिसूदन ॥२॥

संवाह्यमानचरणे लक्ष्म्या यदुकुलोद्वह ।
नभायां तस्य समुत्पन्नं पद्मं पद्मनिभेक्षण ॥३॥
तत्र जातः स्वयं ब्रह्मा देवः शुभचतुर्मुखः ।

* * *

परिक्रमं मया तोये दृष्टः सललितः प्रभो ।
अतीव रमणीयाङ्गं किं तत्प्रब्रूहि मे प्रभो ॥१५॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच ॥

नृत्तमुत्पादितं ह्येतन्मया पद्मनिभेक्षणे ।
अङ्गहारैः सकरणैः संयुक्तं सपरिक्रमैः ॥१६॥
नृत्तेनाराधयिष्यन्ति भक्तिमन्तस्तु मां शुभे ।
त्रैलोक्यस्यानुकरणं नृत्ते देवि प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥१७॥
एतावदुक्त्वा तां देवो ब्रह्माणं वाक्यमब्रवीत् ।
गृहाण नृत्तं धर्मज्ञ लक्ष्यलक्षणसंयुतम् ॥१८॥
एतावदुक्त्वा ब्रह्माणं ग्राहयामास केशवः ।
तद्गृहीत्वा ततो ब्रह्मा ददौ रुद्राय वेधसे ॥१९॥
गृहीत्वा कच रुद्रोपि तोषयामास केशवम् ।
तेन नृत्तेन सततं देवेशं भक्तवत्सलम् ॥२०॥
एवमुत्पादितं नृत्तं वासुदेवेन पार्थिव ।
एकार्णवे पुरा लोके नष्टस्थावरजङ्गमे ॥२१॥
ततः प्रभृति देवेशः शङ्करः शङ्करो नृणाम् ।
नृत्तेनाराधयन्नास्ते देवं चक्रगदाधरम् ॥२२॥
नृत्तेश्वरत्वं चावाप तुष्टाव मधुसूदनम् ।
सोऽपि तुष्यति नृत्तेन सम्यगाराधितो हरः ॥२३॥
अन्ये च देवास्तुष्यन्ति सम्यङ् नृत्तेन तोषिताः ।
आप्यायनं परं ह्येतत् कथितं तु दिवौकसाम् ॥२४॥
एतदेव हि देवत्वं दीप्यतां सततं दिवि ।
पुष्पनैवेद्यदानेभ्यो नृत्तदानं विशिष्यते ॥२५॥

स्वयं नृत्तैन यः कुर्याद्देवदेवस्य पूजनम् ।
विशेषेण महाभाग तस्य तुष्यति केशवः ॥२६॥
नृत्तं गीतं तथा वाद्यं दत्त्वा देवाय विष्णवे ।
सर्वकामसमुद्धस्य यज्ञस्य फलमश्नुते ॥२७॥
नृत्तेन वृत्तिं यः कुर्यात् स तु वर्ज्यः प्रयत्नतः ।
कुशीलवाद्यैः कुर्यान्नृत्तविक्रयकारकः ॥२८॥
देवताराधनं कुर्याद्यस्तु नृत्तेन धर्मवित् ।
स सर्वकामानाप्नोति मोक्षोपायं च विन्दति ॥२९॥
धन्यं यशस्यमायुष्यं स्वर्गलोकप्रदं तथा ।
ईश्वराणां विलासं तु चार्तानां दुःखनाशनम् ॥३०॥
मूढानामुपदेशं तत् स्त्रीणां सौभाग्यवर्धनम् ।
शान्तिकं पौष्टिकं काम्यं वासुदेवेन निर्मितम् ॥३१॥
एतावदुक्तं तव नृत्तशास्त्रं समासतो लोकहिताय राजन् ।
नृत्तेन यत्नः पुरुषेण कार्यो लोकद्वयज्ञ तुमभीप्सतावै ॥३२॥
इति श्रीविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे तृतीयखण्डे मार्कण्डेय-वज्रसंवादे
नृत्तशास्त्रवर्णनो नाम चतुर्विंशत्तमोऽध्यायः ॥३४॥

III. Cf. also the *Agni-purāṇa*: नृत्यादावङ्गकर्मनिरूपणम् in the चत्वारिंशदधिकत्रिशततमोऽध्यायः, *Ślokas*, 1-20.

IV. Cf. The hand-poses (*mudrās*) in the *Samarāṅgana-sūtradhāraḥ* by Mahārājādhirāja Bhojadeva, chapter 83 (Barodā Central Library, 1924), Vol. II, pp. 301-324.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ACOUSTICS OF INDIAN MUSIC

The word 'acoustics' is derived from the Greek verb *akouo*—'to hear', and as such the acoustics of music means the science of auditory vibrations of music, sensed by the auditory nerve. It is the study of the physical basis of music. Helmholtz in Germany, Köening in Paris and Lord Raybigh in England mainly worked on this physical process of music in a scientific manner and on the mathematical basis. In India also, efforts have been made in this direction for making music and its culture perfect in system and sublime in quality.

Acoustics, not only of music of India, but also of music of all civilized countries of the world is mainly concerned with the nature of sound and its vibrations, and also with its relationship to music, resources, intensity, loudness, pitch, register, audition, musical quality, consonance, scale, temperament, harmonic analysis, air columns, musical voice, production of good voice, etc. Thus acoustics of Indian music can also be said to be the physics of Indian music.

Now from the viewpoint of physics, the word 'sound' is commonly used in two different senses, says Dr. E. H. Barton, (1) to denote the *sensation* perceived by means of the ear when the auditory nerves are excited; and (2) to denote the *external physical disturbance* which, under ordinary conditions, suitably excites the auditory nerves. And from this standpoint *acoustics* really connotes the idea of the 'study of sound'. It can be said to be the branch of physics which deals with vibratory motion as perceived by the sense of hearing. So three things are imperative

for the production of sound, musical or non-musical, and these three things are: (a) same medium to receive and transmit the vibratory motion; (b) the parts of the body in vibratory motion should have such shape, size and motion as to cause a disturbance to advance through the air; and (c) our ears should 'enable us to perceive the sensation of sound only when effected by to-and-fro movements whose number per second lies between certain limits'. So to produce sound sensations, it is necessary that our vibrating body should conform to this requirement also.

All sounds may be divided roughly into two classes, noise or non-musical and musical sounds. Though ordinary sounds are not known as musical ones, yet they may not be recognised as noise or irregular sounds. Now the difference between noise and musical sound lies in the fact that noises are irregular or sudden, whereas musical sounds are comparatively smooth, regular balanced and sweet.

If we study the science of musical sound, we find that musical sounds are possessed of vibrations, because they are no other than the sumtotal of sweet and soothing vibrations. Dr. Barton has defined vibration as the period which is no other than the time from the instant when the vibrating point passes through any position to the instant when it next passes through the same position, moving in the same direction. Again, every unit of vibration is possessed of a frequency, and the frequency of a vibration is the number of vibrations, performed per unit time. Thus frequency is the reciprocal period. Again, the *amplitude* of a vibration 'is the maximum displacement, assumed by the vibrating point in the course of its motion'. Next the phase of a vibrating point at any instant is the state of its displacement and motion at the instant in question'.

All musical sounds are characterised by three features like *pitch*, *intensity* and *quality*. Now, what do we mean by a '*pitch*'. The *pitch* of a musical sound is a feature, recognised by every one. It depends upon the period or frequency of the vibrations constituting the sound. The greater the frequency, higher the pitch. Dr. Barton has shown that a pitch is specified in two distinct ways: (a) scientifically, by the statement of the period or frequency of the vibration, or by the logarithm of its frequency, and (b) musically, by the statement of the period or frequency of the vibration, or by assigning to the sound in question its position in a certain accepted series of sounds constituting a musical scale.[1]

The *intensity* of the sound-waves is a purely physical quantity, independent of the ear. It is proportional to the wave energy passing per unit time through unit area. So, we find that a *pitch* depends upon the frequency, whereas an *intensity* upon the amplitude of the vibration. The *loudness* of a sound 'depends upon the intensity of the waves producing it, and increases and decreases with the intensity for a sound of given frequency, but in a way difficult precisely to define, and scarcely susceptible of strictly quantitative statement'.[2] The quality of a sound serves to distinguish between musical sounds of the same pitch and intensity, produced on different intruments, say, the voice, the violin, the organ or any other musical instrument; and it is found that different qualities are observed in various musical sounds, vocal and instrumental.

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1 Vide *A Text Book on Sound* (London, 1932) p. 9.

2 Ibid. p. 15.

It has been said that sound is the very background of music. But what do you mean by a 'sound'? A sound is a composite body of vibrations of ether-units, surcharged with energy. In his quest after the fountain-head of music, Pārśvadeva (7th or 9th-11th century A. D.) has observed in the *Saṅgīta-samayasāra* that causal sound (*nāda*) is the foundation or very basis of the superstructure of music. He further observes that if we dive deep into the mystery of projection of the universe, we find that causal sound is the primal cause of it: "*tasmānnādātmakaṃ jagat*". This idea was first promulgated in the Great Epic, *Mahābhārata* (300 B. C.), wherein it has been said that sound is a quality of ether (*ākāśa*), and from the vibrations of the ether seven musical tones like *ṣadja*, *ṛṣabha*, etc. evolved ("*tatraika guṇa ākāśaḥ* * * *saḍjarṣabhaḥ gāndhāro madhyamaḥ pañchama smṛtaḥ, ataḥ-paraṃ tu vijñeyo niṣādo dhaivatastathā*").

Such is the conclusion of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* philosophy. Śāraṅgdeva (early 13th century A. D.) has admitted that music is no other than the causal sound or *nāda*: "*gītaṃ nāḍātmakaṃ*". According to Pārśvadeva, the causal sound consists of five minute component parts, *sūkṣma*, *atisūkṣma*, *puṣṭa*, *apuṣṭa*, and *kṛtrima*, and the last gross part comes out from the vocal cord as a musical sound.

Besides, all the musicologists have said that sound is mainly divided into two parts, unconscious unmanifested (*anāhata*) and conscious manifesed (*āhata*) ones. The manifested sound represents itself as the non-musical sound, *speech* and the musical sound, *song*. The musical sound is melodious, sweet and soothing, whereas non-musical sound is suitable only for speech. Śāraṅgdeva says that musical as well as all kinds of sound (*nāda*) first emerges from the

navel base (*mūlādhāra*) as a result of friction of the air (*prāṇa-vāyu*) and the heat-energy (*agni*): "*na-kāraṃ prāṇa-nāmānaṃ da-kāramanalaṃ viduḥ*".

Tumburu, Viśvāvasu and some other ancient musicologists have said about the qualities of different pitches of musical sounds. Kallināth has quoted Mataṅga, while discussing about the intonations of different vowels and consonants, relating to the names of tones and tunes. Śāraṅgdeva has also discussed about the intrinsic characters and qualities of the musical sounds and has bestowed on them a common designation, *svara*. The *svara*, he says, is that which pleases the hearts of men and animals: "*svato rañjayate śrotṛ-cittaṃ sa svara ucyate*".

Bharata has, in his turn, determined the smallest units of sound of all the seven *deśī* tones, and has called them microtones or *śrutis* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It will not be wise to conjecture in the first instance that Bharata has borrowed the idea of smaller sound-units from the Pythagorean scheme of microtones and their intervals.

Nārada of the *Śikṣā* (1st century A. D.) had already devised before Bharata the musical sounds to have their main bases on the five microtonal units, and they are *dīptā*, *āyatā*, *mṛdu*, *madhyā* and *karuṇā*, which signify the ideas of brightness or newness, broadness, humility or timidity, medium or control and compassion, corresponding to the aesthetic sentiments of *veera*, *śānta*, *dāsya*, *sakhya* and *vātsalya*. Bharata has devised the twenty-two microtones on the basis of Nārada's five causal or primal microtones (*jāti-śrutis*) and termed their relations as genus-species or *janya-janaka* scheme.

Both Bharata and Śāraṅgdeva have determined the aesthetic sentiments and moods (*rasa* and *bhāva*) of seven

tones in relation to aesthetic significances of the causal microtones (*jāti-śrutis*). The musicologists of India have also determined the colours, presiding deities of the tones, as well as of the *rāgas* which are but the outcome of combinations of tones (*svaras*) They also observed the ancient *grāmas*, *mūrcchanās*, *tānas*, *varṇas*, etc., as the products of musical tones.

The modern musicologists, after incorporating in their scheme the Western mathematical divisions of microtones into different vibrational units, have devised some definite vibrations of both the sharp and flat notes. The sounds, are the finer matters in vibrations, as light, electricity, etc., are. The finer matters are the ethereal particles in motion, energised by the dynamic eternal force or energy. Music primarily implies tones and melodies, but in the final analysis, its material elements are resolved into that divine cosmic energy, which creates, sustains and destroys everything in this phenomenal world.

The Western musicologists are of opinion that sound forms the basis of music, and though all kinds of sound are the outcome of vibrations of ethereal particles, yet musical sounds (sound-units) are specially distinct from the ordinary non-musical sounds or noise. The musical sounds are smooth, regular, periodic and pleasant and are of definite pitch, whereas non-musical sounds, in their turn, are rough, irregular, unpleasant and, therefore, are possessed of no definite pitch. So there is a difference between a musical sound and a noise, and this difference between musical tones and noises can generally be determined by attentive aural observation without artificial assistance.

Hermann Helmholtz says that a "noise is accompanied by a rapid alteration of different kinds of sensations of

sound", whereas "a musical tone strikes the ear as a perfectly undisturbed, uniform sound which remains unaltered as long as it exists, and it prevents no alteration of various kinds of constituents". So it is understood that musical tones are the simpler and more regular elements of sensations of hearing, and they have a periodic motion. "By a *periodic motion*", says Helmholtz, "we mean one which constantly returns to the same condition after exactly equal intervals of time. The length of the equal intervals of time between one state of the motion and its next exact repitition we call the *length of the oscillation*, vibration or swing, or the period of the motion". So from the definition of periodic motion we get the answer thus "*the sensation of a musical tone is due to a rapid periodic motion of the sonorous body; the sensation of a noise to non-periodic motions*".[1]

A musical co-ordinated sound or tone is intelligible when it is possessed of recognizable pitch, and noise is a complex of frequencies, assembled more or less at random and having no recognizable pitch. When a sound-complex includes all audible frequencies in equal ratios, says Charles E. Osgood, it is called 'white noise', analogous to the production of white light in vision through mixture of all wave lengths of light. The difference between noise and tone as psychological experiences is to some extent modifiable by experience,—as Chinese music sounds like noise to most occidently trained ears. In fact, the vibrations of sound communicate themselves to the air in contact with the vibrating system, and this to-and-fro vibration is communicated through air from the source to the ear of the listener.

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1 Vide *Sensations of Tone* (Dover ed., 1954), pp. 7-8.

Dr. Alexander Wood says: "We have three principal aspects of the musical note to consider: (a) the vibration of the source, (b) the transmission through the medium, and (c) the reception by the hearer". Therefore sounds, whether tone, speech or noise, have frequency and pitch that create amplitude of vibrations and loudness. Bodies, vibrating very slowly, says Dr. Wood, do not produce sensation of sound, but when their frequency reaches about 20 or more per second, we begin to hear very low sound, and as the frequency continues to rise, we hear higher and higher pitch, until finally at a point roughly 20,000 vibrations per second we cease to hear sound. All sounds have, therefore, vibrations, and all sound-vibrations have three physical attributes, viz. frequency, amplitude and vibration, which give rise in the mind of the audiences three psychological tonal attributes, and they are called pitch, loudness and tone-quality.

A sound has a quality of its own, and different kinds of sound are possessed of different specific qualities. A musical sound has in it a musical quality, termed *klaug-fartee* in German and *timbere* in French. In Indian music, this quality may be termed as *svatantra-dharma*. Dr. Alexander Wood has suggested that if a tone of the given and definite pitch is played successively on two different musical instruments, and played with exactly the same loudness, we can distinguish between two sounds, and refer each to its appropriate instrument. The basis of this judgement is the quality of the sound. The German physicist Chalandus (1756-1827 A.D.) first experimented this process of musical quality of sound on a vibrating plate, and afterwards it was attempted by Hermann Helmholtz in terms of partial tones. Helmholtz insisted that differences

in quality were all capable of explanation in terms of particular selection of partial forms, associated with any note and their relative intensities.

Every sound has a resonance, and this resonance is transmitted by the help of vibrations in the form of waves. Now, what do we mean by a resonance? A resonance is the result of vibrations of a sounding body, being communicated to another body. It can be said to be the throwing of one body into the co-vibration by another body. The resonance or free resonance is a sympathetic phenomenon of vibration of sound that evolves motion or vibrating body. The principle, underlying the phenomenon, was first promulgated by Galilio (1564-1642 A.D.), and was afterwards systematically worked out by Wallis, Marloye, Helmholtz and other Western scholars.

We hear and appreciate everything audible through the medium of ear, and it is a remarkable instrument that has been given to human beings. The ear is commonly divided into three parts, the outer, the middle and the inner ones. The outer ear is known as the pinna. The sound-waves travel down the external auditory meatus, the hole in the ear and strike the tympanic membrane at its end, which is a band of skin that separates the outer and the middle ears. Music is produced either by human voice or instruments, and the sound-vibrations of music charm and captivate human hearts by creating sweet and soothing impressions (*saṁskāras*). So music is partly a conscious and partly a subconscious or unconscious act, and the subconscious exercise of motor nerves, says Banavia Hunt, can only be translated into the realm of consciousness in terms of subjective physical sensation.

Music, which is produced by the human voice, is transmitted with the help of vocal mechanism. Now the question arises as to how it is produced by the vocal cords. It is the product of a main wave, modulated by a number of subsidiary waves. The main wave takes form immediately in front of the larynx, holding vocal cords due to the vortices or rotating cores of pressure of air, which issue from the vibrant slit.

But how do the vortices produce sound? The air in the throat remains stagnant, until disturbed by jets of air pressure from the lungs. The vibrating cords, opening and closing in alternate sequence, inject vortices into the restricted passage of throat immediately above, which corresponds to the mouth-piece of a brass intrument. These progressive cores of air set up pressure vibrations in the stagnant air, each vibration occurring at the velocity of sound (11,00 feet per second) and the frequency per second corresponding to the number of vortices forming per second, and the number of complete vibration excuted by the vocal cords per second. Thus if the cords are vibrating at the rate of 25 times in one second, in that same space of time 25 vortices will be ejected into the throat by the cord, and 25 pressure vibrations will occur in the stagnant air of the throat. The acoustic result will be the sounding of middle C. Now the air in the throat, covering a restricted space, imposes a loud resistance on the vibrating cords and their associated vortex system, and in consequence, considerably enhances the efficiency of the acoustic output.

In fact, the wave-front, produced immediately in front of the cords, is amplified in the mouth, which acts somewhat as a horn or tube, terminating in a flare. The size



Dancing Girl, Udayagiri, Bhubanesvara




Hand-Poses




1. Pataka
2. Ardhachandra *(Natyasastra)*
3. Shikhara
4. Padmakosha
5. Mrigashirsha
6. Simhamukha (side)







7. Svastika
8. Hansapaksha *(Natyasastra)*
9. Khatakamukha *(Natyasastra)*
10. Urnanabha *(Natyasastra)*
11. Hansasya *(Ajanta)*
12. Chatura *(Natyasastra)*






of the vortices, proceeding from the vibrant slit of the cords, also varies in accordance with the air of that slit, which can be adjusted within limit by the vocalist. As the latter sings an ascending scale of tones, he gradually reduces the diameter of the vortex rings until they become quite small in comparison with those he was manufacturing, when singing the lower notes. Since the cords execute a simple harmonic motion, the vortices produce the fundamental frequency only, but this simple wave is modulated by the vibrating air column and formant of the throat and larynx; hence the 'laryngeal voice', which is essentially embryonic and constitutes the main sound wave of the vocal system, consists of the fundamental and harmonics plus a small percentage of formant. The 'laryngeal voice' is amplified by the throat and mouth, but it is worthy of note that the singer is able to direct the sound column in the throat, either outwards towards the mouth or towards the pharynx. The directing process is carried out by the adjustment of the cords, since the use of a section of cords propells the vortices and resulting sound column towards the soft palate or even behind it in the direction of head cavities; while the employment of the entire cord directs it towards the hard palate. In all cases, however, it must be understood that the sound is ultimately reflected into the mouth and is transmitted as a progression of spherical waves into outer space.

In dealing with the acoustics of music, something must be dealt about the musical instruments, specially about the stringed ones. Dr. E. H. Barton has elaborately dealt with the methods of construction, measurments and tonal qualities of different kinds of Western musical instruments

in his book: *A Text Book on Sound.*[1] He has divided the musical instruments into three chief divisions, viz. (1) the *exciter*, or means of producing vibrations; (2) the *vibrating system*; and (3) the *manipulative mechanism* for the production of the various notes of the scale for expressions, etc. The vibrating system, he says, may often with advantage be subdivided into a vibrator of definite pitch and a resonator which reinforces, and otherwise, modifies the sounds, produced by the vibrator.

Dr. Barton has further divided the characteristic features of the musical instruments into seven classes, and they are: (1) the range or pitch or *compass* of the instrument; (2) the interval relation of the possible notes or the *scale* of the instrument; (3) the *power and delicacy* of tones producible; (4) the noises accompanying the begining or finishing of the sounds; (5) the possible or inevitable *change of intensity* of the sounds while they last; (6) the *quality* of the sound after it is completely established by musicians often termed tone; (7) lastly, the instrument may be restricted to the production of one note at a time, or be capable of producing simultaneously two or more notes, i.e. it may be restricted to melody or capable of harmony.[2] He has also scientifically divided the various musical tones into following five classes: (1) those with the full harmonic series of partials, i.e. including the prime the relative frequencies are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, etc.; (2) those with harmonic partials, but forming only the odd series of natural numbers i.e. the relative frequencies are 1, 3, 5, 7, etc.; (3) tones with inharmonic

1 Vide *A Text Book on Sound* (London, 1932), pp. 406-471.

2 Ibid., p. 408.

partials; (4) simple tones, usually limiting cases of the foregoing three classes in which the upper partials are indefinitely diminished or suppressed; (5) tones with harmonic partials, but, whatever the pitch of the note, those partials near some one or more *fixed pitches* specially reinforced, the others being relatively discouraged.[1]

The human voice, whether musical or non-musical, possesses two units of element, primary and secondary. The first element, says Prof. Herbert Caesari, is the initiatory process, set in motion by the vocal cords, and culminating in the second columns; second is the resonance element which is derived from the various cavities. Prof. Bonavia Hunt is of opinion that when we speak of resonance, we mean one or two possible phenomena; either the sympathetic vibration of an air column, enclosed in a chamber or cavity. The former is represented by the bony and cartilaginous framework that holds the body together, the latter by the slightest prompting of the parent system. These resonators all impose their complex wave forms on the main wave when 'compted' to it, and modify and modulate it in such a way that both quality and intensity are profoundly affected.

Though real and abstract music is known by its manifestation of tones or different arrangements of tones only, yet to the mass or multitude it is manifested as the combination of tones and words. Generally *speech* (word) and *song* (tone) make music, expressive and recognisable. But there lies a difference between *speech* and *song*, and that difference is perceptible due to the use of vowels and

1 Ibid., p. 409.

consonants attached thereto. Prof. Bartholomer is of opinion that, in general, *song* prolongs the vowels and shortens the consonants, while *speech* does not dwell on vowels, and, therefore, is occupied with consonantal sounds for a larger proportion of the time. In fact, a song or tune tends to prolong the vowels which means the vowels in general may be sung with an open throat and mouth, permitting power as well as beautiful quality, whereas consonants are usually produced by narrowing or more or less complete closures at one or more points between back of the tongue and the lips.

Song can afford to sacrifice speed for beauty. *Speech*, on the other hand, must usually get its message across as quickly as possible, and since the understanding of it is based largely on perceiving the consonants, they are usually sufficiently emphasized while many vowels are passed over as quickly as possible. Instead of an enlarged back throat resonator as in good singing, the result is then a more or less constant tonic construction of the throat during speech, because of the frequent occurrence of consonants without sufficient intervening vowels time to permit enlargement. Now, the positions of the larynx, pharynx, tongue, velum, lips, and other parts are almost constantly changing to a much more rapid degree than song. Besides another "difference between *song* and *speech* is that, in general, *song* follows a more or less strict melodic outline, sustaining for definite durations certain pitches in a certain scale, with relatively little but rapid sliding from one pitch to another, while *speech* has no formal melody, but slides constantly up or down depending on the sense of words to be inflected. The sustaining of certain pitches and qualities, as in singing,

makes it more difficult to understand the word, even if they are carefully pronounced".

Regarding the position of vowels in music, it can be said that when songs are composed and sung, attention is always given to the words and tunes of the songs, and special stress is laid on the pronunciation of the vowels. The vowels are taken to be the vital force or *prāṇa* in Indian music, because they add aesthetic lustre and beauty to the *rāgas* (melodies) and, consequently, to the songs (*gītis*) also.

The vowels are produced with open mouth i.e. with the open or untouched tongue and the lips, whereas consonants by narrowing more or less complete closure at one or more points between the back of the tongue and the lips. When songs are sung with the use of maximum quantity of vowels, they create greater number of emotional quality and enjoyabilty, whareas when they are sung with the use of greater number of consonants, they rather stand in the way of creating aesthetic lustre. By way of an example: while defining a *rāga*, Mātaṅga and Parśvadeva and others have said that when a *rāga* comprises greater number of vowels, it pleases and soothes the minds of those who listen to it. Mataṅga says in the *Bṛhaddeśī*,

(a) Svara-varṇa-viśeṣeṇa dhvanibhedena vā punaḥ/
Rajyate yena yaḥ kaśacit sa rāgaḥ sammataḥ satāṃ//

(b) Yo'sau dhvani-viśeṣastu svara-varṇa-vibhuṣitaḥ/
Rañjako jana-cittānāṃ sa ca rāgaḥ udāhṛtaḥ//

That is, when the combinations of notes are possessed of greater number of vowels and pronounced with variant sounds or intonations, the expert musicians call them *rāga*,

because the notes create sweet impressions on the minds of men and living animals. Pārśvadeva too has said in similar vein in the *Saṅgita-samayasāra*.

In fact, the vowels are the emotional units, and they create maximum aesthetic feelings of calmness and joy in the hearts of living beings. Again, when consonants are pronounced or elongated, they take the help of vowles which make them pleasant and sweet. So a vowel is considered by the Indian philosophers as Śiva or Puruṣa, while a consonant, being dependant on a vowel, is considered as Śakti or Prakṛti. Śakti or Prakṛti is inactive by herself. She becomes dynamic, when comes in contact with Śiva or Puruṣa. The vowels, being independent and self-evolved, are full of concentrated energy, whereas consonants, being dependent on vowels, are not a free agent to create a peaceful and calm atmosphere.

Indian music is enriched by *rāgas* which are fully manifested in their *ālāpas*. The *ālāpas* are more lively than the songs, because *ālāpas* manifest themselves by the help of vowels, whereas songs being composed of different words, constructed of vowels and consonants, cannot create peaceful and delightful atmosphere which *ālāpas* do. In the Vedic songs, we come across the *stobhas* that used to elongate or lengthen the words or syllables, used in the *sāmans*, and it is for the use of the *stobhas* that the *sāmans* used to rouse a spirit of serene peace and blessedness in the hearts of the priests who used to perform the sacred sacrifices. The vowels are also the base (*ādhāra*) of the vocal tones, and they are pronounced in relation to their respective pitches.

Prof. Herbert-Caesari is of opinion that vowels are formed primarily in the larynx in an embryonic form, and

then completed, matured and reinforced by the variform cavities of mouth and pharynx. The five classic vowels like A E I O U and 12 vowels, A, AA, (a, ā=अ, आ etc.) in Sanskrit and Bengali, are the basis of correct and good emotive singing. The correct reinforcement of the prime sound "is impossible if the throat is unable readily and accurately to adust itself in every part to meet and satisfy the exigencies of the particular vowels, or shade of vowels. Each vowel must be deliberately formed ; they must each be visualised, felt and heard by the singer. By securing, feeling and hearing the vowels during such deliberate formation, the singer is able to control both the formation and the enunciation of the vowels as well as the direction taken by the relative columns of sound ; by which mental-physical process the throat is rapidly moulded". So every vowel must be given a characteristic of its own, and its formation must always be deliberate, and that means a singer must memorize the exact sensation of every vowel, and he must develop a mental vision of the shapes of all vowels at all pitches.

It is true that fundamentally the mechanism of physical and mental activities is same or identical in all peoples in all countries and "it is precisely the variations of thought and of physical form which distinguish and divide them into races: race-physique". Similarly, voices are all moulded after the one and the same model, but yet "the slight variations of form and quality of the vocal organs, quantitatively and qualitatively distinguish one category of voice from the other, and the individual voices belonging to a particular category".

The natural voice is the good voice, which produces sweet, melodious and charming music. But what do we

mean by a natural voice? A complete natural voice is one "that, without training, is able to articulate, enunciate and sustain with perfect ease and freedom all vowels on all pitches in its particular compass. In other words, a voice that has no mechanical defects or difficulties, no matter the pitch or the vowels on that pitch, a voice is a voice in which exact laryngo-pharyngeal adjustments obtain automatically at any and every pitch with any and every vowel within its compass * * * *. A completely natural voice, while acoustically perfect and physiologically balanced, is not necessarily beautiful (although it often is); it can possess mechanical perfection and yet be divorced from beauty". But there are differences of opinion regarding the view, as expressed by Prof. Herbert-Caesari. Because good voice must always be adorned with beauty, and, therefore, it must necessarily be beautiful. The ideal tone or voice is a gift of God, and it cannot be said as to how it can be achieved and maintained. Such is also the opinion of all the master musicians of all over the world.

Now, all artists cannot attain the ideal tone, in which a quality is predominant, yet everyone should sincerely try to acquire a good and natural voice. It is also a fact that a good voice of a singer physiologically depends upon his sound physique, cool and balanced disposition and good thought. As exuberance of emotion destroys the creation of art, so absence of emotion or its excess stands in the way of creative art. Therefore, emotion of a good singer should always be measured and well-balanced, and be guided by reason and intel ligence with a sense of proportion.

In the *Saṅgīta-śāstras*, we read that the tones (*svaras*) and, consequently, the melodies (*rāgas*) are the embodiments

of aesthetic sentiments and feelings (*rāsas* and *bhāvas*), and a singer is required to be competent to call them into action. The bare tonal structures of the *ragas* are in themselves devoid of life or energy, and life or energy in infused in the *rāgas* by the artists through the medium of movements of the tones. It has already been said that the *Nāradīśikṣā* (1st century A.D.) has mentioned about five microtonal units like *dīptā*, *āyatā*, etc. which are no other than the aesthetic force-centres. These five microtonal units (*śrutis*) form the fountain-head of twenty-two microtones, devised by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* The tones again are the product of twenty-two microtones, nay, of innumerable tone-units that are surcharged with emotional sentiments. The *rāgas* are the product of combination and permutation of tones, having ascending and descending series. Therefore, as the microtones, devised both by Nārada and Bharata, are surcharged with emotional sentiments, so are the *rāgas*, and so when a singer has learned to infuse balanced thought into the formation of tones and when he had learned the accurate laryngo-pharyngeal adjustments on all pitches with all vowels and the intimate relation of the latter to the former, and when such formation and adjustments are coolly deliberate, then his voice takes on a peculiar quality that is subtle and indefinitely but eminently attractive and satisfying. It is precisely the quality of intelligent industry that attracts, effects and rouses an audience.

A good voice is a boon to a musician. But this alone is not sufficient assurance for making anybody a good musician, for a good musician should be well-equipped with the knowledge of both theory and practice of music. Because practice without theory is barren and meaningless

and vice versa. In fact, one is precondition to the other. A good musician should, therefore, possess perfect knowledge of microtones, tones and sidetones, together with that of the sonant, consonant, assonant and dissonant, *alaṁkāra*, *tāna*, *gamaka* *mūrcchanā* and other music materials. He must have the knowledge as to what kind of emotional sentiments and moods are produced by different kinds of note, sharp and flat, and should also be an adept in the methods of their proper application in music.

First of all he is expected to conceive and idealise the divine pictorial forms of the *rāgas* in his mental horizon or ecstatic vision, and then transform and present them in material forms. He must bear in mind that Indian *rāgas* are not mere lifeless skeletons of tones or microtones, but are living, dynamic and beneficial bodies. He, therefore, should not indulge in mere mechanical feats of calculations of tones and statistics of tonal patterns of the *rāgas*, but must take them to be one of the material means to make his experimental knowledge perfect, and must also concentrate his mind upon the ideal of spiritual *sādhanā*.

Now a question has been raised by Prof. Vernon Lee as to what is the nature of music and what music does in the mind of the audience or hearer. To this he has said: "Since, from the psychologist's point of view, an art is not the material collection of objectively existing pictures, statues, poems or musical compositions, but the summing up of a set of spiritual processes taking place in the mind of the artist and in the mind of him who receives the artist's gift. Or rather, the work between the activities of the artist and those of the beholder or hearer. Indeed, musical aesthetics ought to be the clue to study of all other branches of art, first and foremost because the evanescence

of music's material makes it more evident that the work of art really is the special group of responses which is susceptible of awakening in the mind of its audience, including the composer himself, who mentally hears his own work in the process of building it up and taking stock of its whole and its parts.

"The enquiry what music *is*, therefore resolves itself, for those thinking like myself, into an enquiry as to what music does in the mind of the hearer ; or, more correctly, of what the mind of the hearer does in response to the music which he hears. But the 'mind of the hearer' is not an individual entity ; it is only a convenient average of the phenomena common to all or most minds of all hearers under examination. And the first result of such examination is to reveal that these hearers' minds, although similar in one or two main points which oblige us to classify them as *hearers of music*, are in other respects dissimilar, indeed so dissimilar that we are obliged to consider them as belonging to opposed classes. Therefore, before being able to say how music acts upon mankind as a whole, we have to enquire how music acts upon different categories of human beings ; which, as already remarked, in another way of saying how minds or various categories of types of hearers act in response to the music they hear".[1]

However, self-analysis as well as self-confidence are essential qualities for every student and teacher of music. They should be cautious of the psychological attitude of different hearers. There should be a mutual understanding

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1 Vide Prof. Vernon Lee: *Varieties of Musical Experiences* in the "Problems of Aesthetics", edited by Eliseo Vivas and Murray Krieger, (New York, 1960), pp. 296-297.

between the artist and the audiences for better understanding of the greatness as well as the intrinsic value of music.

In fact, development of a musician depends firstly, upon his or her aptitude and devotion to the art, and secondly, to the understanding of perfect balance of voice, and thirdly, to concentrated attention on the *rasātmakalā* of the *svaras* and the *rāgas*. Musicians must bear in their minds that the *rasātmakalā* of the *svaras* as wall as of the *rāgas* forms the background of Indian music. He must, therefore, avoid vibratory and erratic application of voice or sound and also erroneous use of tones that spoil the spirit of a *rāga* and consequently of a song. He must be conversant with the art of applying grace or *sparśa-svaras*, *mūrcchanās*, *tānas*, *gamakas*, etc. for making the *rāgas* living. He must remember that music is both a science and an art, and as such·it should be taken as a means to an end in human life and not as a meaningless exuberance of emotion and fanciful creation of the mind. He must know that music has a meaning that conveys the idea of freedom of the soul, and it takes men to the eternal haven of bliss and tranquillity.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF INDIAN MUSIC

The term 'iconography' is derived from two Greek words *eikon*, meaning image, and *graphia*, meaning writing, drawing, etc. The term *eikon* is synonimous with the Indian word *arca* or image. Therefore, the term *icon* signifies an object of worship, a figure that represents a deity or a saint, in painting, mosaic, sculpture, etc. It is, in some way or other, associated with the sacred rituals, connected with the worship of particular Divinities. Therefore, iconography is a special branch of knowledge or study that deals with the images of deities. Iconography of Indian music also connotes the idea of the study of figures, images, deities, and pictorial representations of the *rāgas* that form the norm of Indian music and are regarded as the presiding deities of music.

The word 'image' is derived from the old French and Latin word *image*, which signifies the idea of 'likeness', i.e. *vimba* or *pratika*. The idea of *pratika* as a symbol is found in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads, where spiritual aspirants are instructed to concentrate and meditate upon an object that represents the indeterminate (*nirguṇa*) Brahman. The '*icon*' or '*image*' serves also the purpose of a sign or symbol which is used for an object. The science of iconography is also closely related to religion or religious cult that teaches one to realize Divinity in a man or in an object. Some argue that music, being an art, has no connection with religion or spirituality. But that is not correct. Because art is an expression or a

symbol of Nature, and it unveils as well as represents the exquisite beauty of Nature, which, in its turn, is the representation of the world-essence, Ātman, that pervades, sustains, and animates the whole universe. Art unfolds the immanent as well as transcendent beauty and blessedness of the Ātman that shines behind Nature, and as such art ever goes hand in hand with religion and spirituality.

Music in India is a superb creative art, infused with a religious feeling. Music is a spiritual *sādhanā* that uplifts the consciousness of man to the highest. It is not just a subtle fabric of tones and tunes, of fancy and dream, but is a dynamic spiritual expression. The ancient seers saw in their ecstatic vision the divine forms of the *rāgas*, realized them, and transmitted them to humanity. They realized the *rāgas* as both objective and subjective—material and spiritual ones, and not merely as the inert structures of tones and tunes. So a *rāgas* is a psycho-material object that spiritualizes both the body and the mind, and helps men to transcend both matter and mind, so as to get the luminous apperception of the Absolute.

Music is looked upon in India as a living art, having matter (sound) for its body and spirit (melody) for its soul. Or it can be said that the psycho-material body of music is the *rāga*, which takes shape out of the permutation and combination of tones and microtones, which are again surcharged with emotional sentiments and moods. It has already been said before that the seven tones have been divided into twenty two *śrutis* (microtones), and these *śrutis* have been classified into five species : *āyatā*, *mṛdu*. *madhyā*, *karuṇā* and *dīptā*. In Sanskrit Grammar, *āyatā* is derived as *ā-yama-ta*, the root, *yama*

meaning restraint. Therefore *āyatā* expresses the attitude of tranquility (*śāntāvasthā*) of the mind. *Mṛdu* denotes the attitude of humanity, and it is derived from the root *mṛd* with the affix *ku*. This type of mental trait is the outcome of complete surrender, ignoring the sense of egoism (*dāsya*). *Madhyā* expresses the sentiment of friendship (*sakhya*), and is formed out of the root '*man*' with the affix '*yak*'. *Karuṇā* is formed out of the root, *kṛ-unan*, which means the scattering of the affectionate sentiments (*vatsalya-rasa*). *Dīptā* expresses the sentiment of self-dedication, and denotes sweetness (*mādhurya*). Therefore music finally aims at the eternal joy, and one can realize the blissful state of mind through music. The highest reality, *nāda-Brahman* is itself a transcendent sentiment (*raso vai saḥ*). It has been said before that Muni Bharata has worked out twenty-two microtones on the basis of five emotive microtonal units, as devised by Nārada of the *Śikṣā*. And as the tones are the material forms of the combination of subtle microtones and the microtones in their turn are saturated with emotional suggestivity, so the tones and consequently the *rāgas* are also surcharged with aesthetic lustre and beauty.

Music is a sign or symbol that signifies bliss and beauty, for which it really stands. The function of a symbol or sign is, in fact, to refer to that for which it stands. Some make a distinction between 'symbol' and 'sign' from the standpoint of logic. Dr. Stebbing has said that it is not possible to draw a hard and fast line between a 'sign' and a 'symbol'. What we understand, he says, is always a symbol in a sense. "Hence, to understand a verbal symbol is to know what it refers

to, i.e. to know the referend for which it stands''. Prof. Russell has asserted that sometimes logical symbolism makes things difficult to understand, while, according to Prof. Whitehead, symbols have invariably been introduced to make things easy. But both the assertions are correct from different points of view, for, on the one hand, the vagueness of the symbol creates difficulty in grasping the real import of a thing or an object, while, on the other, clear and distinct symbol helps us to apprehend the meaning for which it stands. So music may be considered as an *interpretative* sign or symbol that clearly signifies its prime object, the universal Soul or Ātman.

Benedetto Croce has said in connection with art in intuition that "the symbol has sometimes been given as the essence of art. Now, if the symbol be conceived as inseparable from the artistic intuition, it is a synonym for the intuition itself, which always has an ideal character". Dr. Freud has also termed the true symbol as the expression of an intuitive perception, "which can as yet, neither be apprehended better, nor expressed differently". Dr. Jung has called this symbol a sign, which signifies the intuitive perception of some things. While discussing about the formal structure of art and iconic signs and expressiveness, Professors Ritchie, Morris, and Hungerland have fully discussed this subject. Charles Morris has said that the work of art is, in some sense, a sign, and it is the basic doctrine of aestheticians from Plato to Dewey. It is an intelligible interpretation of the doctrine of 'imitation' to regard it as a theory of the sign-character of the work of art. The sign or symbol, therefore, works as a language for the communication of meaning and value.

Again, music is the language of the Impersonal. It is a symbolic medium, through which the solemnity and grandeur of the Divinity find expression in the visible world. Thus the musicology of India recognizes the *rāgas* as the very embodiment of the Divinity. The artists sing or play on instruments and the audiences listen to them. It means that through singing some songs or playing some instruments they worship the goddess of music, the Sura-Sarasvatī to receive her benediction. And for this reason both the acts of singing and appreciating are considered in India as a spiritual discipline or *sādhanā*, and through this *sādhanā* both the performer and the good listener of music find solutions to the mystery of life and finally attain God-consciousness.

Now, let us see how and when the idea or conception of the pictorial forms and images evolved in India. Dr. J. N. Banerjea is of opinion: "In India, iconism and aniconism existed side by side from a very early period, and this feature is also present even in modern times. Buddha could be represented by means of such symbols as the Bodhi tree with Vajrāsana beneath it, his foot-prints, the *stūpa*, etc., which were directly associated with him; in the Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., we find him being depicted iconocally and aniconocally at the same time, though in the earlier Buddhist art of Central India he used to be represented only in the latter manner. Similarly, Brāhmaṇical cult-deities could as well be worshipped in the Śāligrāmas, the Bāṇa-liṅgas and the Yantras, as in images...".[1] Some are of opinion that worship of the Buddha image is very ancient, and from the Buddha image,

1 Vide *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd edition, p. 82.

image-worship itself came into being. Dr. Coomāraswāmy has observed in connection with the representative of Buddha and Śiva on coins thus: "In Buddhist art, we find at Bhārhut and Sāñci the tree, wheel, etc., on or behind an altar, clearly designated in the inscriptions as Buddha (*Bhagavato*) and worshipped as such...Later on the figure of a human teacher takes its place upon the throne, the old symbols being retained as specific designations... In the same way with Hindu types ; thus we find at first the humped bull alone, then a two-armed, and finally a four-armed figure accompanying the bull, once the representative of deity, now his vehicle, while other symbols are held in the hands as attributes".[1]

But, if we go the into Vedic literature, we find that the sacrificial stake (*yūpa*) was the symbol of worship long before the worship of the sacred mound or *stūpa*, which was recognised as the representation of Buddha. And so it will not be unwise to think that the *stūpa*-worship was designed after the Vedic *yūpa*-worship, which was conceived as the sacred seat of the Sun god, Mithra. The Sun or Mithra was once the chief deity of the Aryan race, and long before the Buddhist era, the worship of the sacrificial stake or *yūpa* as the seat of the Sun god was in practice in connection with the Vedic sacrifices, rites and ceremonies. Symbol-worship was, therefore, prevalent in India in the Vedic times, and this practice was also common amongst all the ancient nations of the world. Again, before the Christian era, Pāṇini (550 B.C.) and Patañjali (300 B.C.)

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1 Vide Dr. Coomāraswāmy: *The Origin of Buddha Image*. Prof. O. C. Gāṅgoly has also dealt on this subject in his book, *Origin of Buddha Image*.

have mentioned it in their *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and *Mahābhāṣya* respectively. In the Great Epics like *Rāmāyaṇa*, (400 B.C.), *Mahābhārata* (300 B.C.) and *Harivaṁśa* (200 B.C.), we come across the worship of sacred symbols. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we find that after the exile of Sītā, Rāmacandra performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice with Sītā represented by a gold statue. Besides, from all the historical and mythological evidences of ancient nations of the world, we learn about the existence of idol or image worship in connection with religious functions. That image-worship was prevalent in the civilization and culture of the prehistoric Indus Valley cities, is clear from the excavation of the mounds of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā, where idols of gods and goddesses have been discovered. Among the findings, we come across an image of the Mother Goddess, Durgā and that of a Yogī with his eyes pointed to the tip of the nose, inscribed on clay seals which bear the stamp of exquisite workmanship. Many composite human and animal figures, together with the figures of deities, nude and half-nude, found on seals and amulets, excavated from the prehistoric mounds of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā, "very probably stand for divinities in their theriomorphic or therico-anthropomorphic forms, though many others are to be regarded as mere accessories. Most, if not all, of the above icons of cult gods were being worshipped by the people in those days". The Vedas and Upaniṣads prescribe symbol-worship (*pratīka-upāsanā*) for the spiritual aspirants, in order to help them to have a glimpse of the imperceptible transcendental Brahman in meditation. The reflection (*pratibimva*) of the sun in the sky has been compared with a mundane man, who is essentially the Brahman or Ātman. The Upaniṣads also state that, in a sense, the reflection is

nothing but the Essence itself, for a face of a man is an index or reflection of the man himself. That is, reflection can stand for the object. All these go to show that symbol-worship (*pratibimva* or *pratīka-upāsanā*) was prevalent in ancient India long before the advent of Buddhism.

Regarding the use of sculptures as symbols, we find that in the Buddhist period, sculptured representations of the life stories (*Jātakas*) of Lord Buddha were carved in the *stūpas* and cave temples of Amarāvatī, Bhārhut, Bādāmi, Ellorā, Elephanṭā, Mathurā, Gāndhāra, Sāñci, Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa, etc. The mural paintings of Bāgh, Ajantā, etc, are also the genuine proofs of the use of human figures as symbols. Many of the Hindu temples of the post-Vedic period, including their dancing halls (*naṭyamandir*), are decorated with the sculptures of Naṭas, Naṭis, Yakṣiṇis, and different musical instruments like *śaṅkha*, *veeṇā*, *veṇu*, and different sizes of drums (*mṛdaṅga* or *puṣkara*). We thus get evidences of symbols in the sculptures and paintings that were chiselled and painted after the gods, goddesses. and sacred objects of the past. Now it is understood that idol or image worship generally developed in connections with the worship of divine and semi-divine beings, heroes and heroines in the remote past, though their conception differed in different countries possessing different tastes and temperaments.

In Vedic time, the *ṛcs* or stanzas, with notes, were known at the *sāmans* or *sāmagānas*. They were sung before the sacrificial altars for invoking the presiding deities like Varuṇa, Mithra, Indra, Agni and others. The *gāndharva* type of music evolved in the period 600-500 B. C. out of the remnants of Vedic music, though the former took different forms and shapes from those of the latter. The

later authors on music have observed that the *mārga* or *gāndharva* type of sacred music was meant for the celestial region. This dictum was of the period when the *mārga* or *gāndharva* type of music was replaced by the classico-regional or formalised *deśī* type of music, approximately in the 3rd-5th century A. D. Kallināth, the celebrated commentator of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* has said that the *jātirāgas*, *grāmarāgas* and some of the *aṅga* or *chāyā rāgas* were included in the category of the *mārga* or *gāndharva* type of music. The *gāndharva* type of music used to be considered sacred, because it evolved out of the holy Vedic music. Again the *gāndharva* type of music was sung with the help of the *rāgas* (*jāti* and *grāma rāgas*) in different registers, rhythms and tempi and aesthetic sentiments.

Now, for enunciating the origin of the *rāgas*, the authors of the mythico-historical epics have taken the help of symbols for clarification of the subject in a mystic manner. They have stated that the five *ragas* evolved from the five mouths of the Lord Śiva, and the *rāga naṭanārāyaṇa*, from the mouth of Devī Gaurī. We notice that the Śiva-Śakti or Tāntric cult was predominant when the said conception arose. From the iconographical viewpoint the worship of the Śiva-Śakti principle is very important. In the iconographical conception of music, Śiva has been conceived in two ways, one, in the symbolic way, the phallus being the emblem, and the other, in the anthropomorphic way, the idol or image being the emblem. The practice of worship of Śiva and Śakti is very ancient, as is evidenced from the findings of the prehistoric Indus Valley mounds. In some of the ancient rock-cut temples, Śiva has been depicted as a five-faced god. The names of the five faces are: *Sadyojāta*, *Vāmadeva*, *Aghora*, *Tatpuruṣa*, and *Iśāna*,

which are again the five aspects of the sun. The mythological interpretation of the origin of the *rāgas* relates to the five mouths, and the five *rāgas* have been conceived to correspond to these five mouth-cum-gods:

1. Sadyojāta ... Śrīāga
2. Vāmadeva ... Vasanta
3. Aghora ... Bhairava
4. Tatpuruṣa ... Pañcama
5. Iśāna ... Megha[1]

The five faces of Śiva, as represented here, are the five symbols of the five main *rāgas*, and these symbols are no other than the *icons*. The five primordial elements (*sukṣma-bhūtas*) like earth (*kṣiti*), water (*apaḥ*), fire (*tejas*), air (*marut*) and ether (*vyoma*) have been conceived as the symbols or signs of those above-mentioned *rāgas*. The primordial elements are signified by the *vījamantras* (mono cryptic letters) like *laṃ*, *yaṃ*, *raṃ*, *vaṃ*, *haṃ* (लं, यं, रं, वं, हं), In Tantra, seats for the *vījamantras* have also been conceived, and they are known as *cakras* (force-centers or plexuses). The *cakras* are possessed of different colours and presiding deities (*varṇas* and *adhiṣṭḥātrī-devatās*), The five Tāntric code-languages (*vīja-mantras*), plexus (*cakras*)

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1 It has been said in the *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa*, 160-162:

शिवशक्तिसमायोगाद्रागणां सम्भवो भवेत् ।
पञ्चास्यात् पञ्चरागाः स्युः षष्ठन्तु गिरिजामुखात् ॥
सद्योवक्त्रान्तु श्रीरागो वामदेवाद्वसन्तकः ।
अघोरात् भैरवोद्भूत्तत्पुरुषात् पञ्चमोऽभवत् ॥
इशनाख्यान्मेधरागो नाद्यारम्भे शिवादभूत् ।
गिरिजाया मुखाल्लास्ये नटनारायणोऽभवत् ॥

and colours (*varṇas*) have also been taken as the symbols i.e. *icons* of the five *rāgas*. They are as follows:

Five face-cum-mouth of Śiva	Primordial element	*Vījamantra*	Plexus (*Cakra*)	*Rāga*
Sadyojāta	Earth (*kṣiti*)	Laṃ	Mūlādhāra	Śrīrāga
Vāmadeva	Water (*apaḥ*)	Yaṃ	Svādhiṣṭhāna	Vasanta
Aghora	Fire (*tejā*)	Raṃ	Manipura	Bhairava
Tatpuruṣa	Air (*maruta*)	Vaṃ	Anāhata	Pañcama
Iśāna	Ether (*vyoma*)	Haṃ	Viśuddha	Megha

In the Tāntric literature of the Buddhists, five *dhyāni-Buddhas* or *Tathāgatas* have been conceived in accordance with the five *skandas*, which were designed after the five material elements (*pañca-bhūtas*) of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. The five material elements were earth (*kṣiti*), water (*apaḥ*), fire (*tejas*), air (*marut*) and ether (*vyoma*). These five material elements, together with the five sense-organs (*indriyas*) evolved from the five potential or causal elements (*tanmātrās*), which were known as generic essences of the sound (*śabda*), touch (*śparsa*), colour (*rūpa*), taste (*rasa*) and smell (*ghrāṇa* or *gandha*). The five *dhyānī-Buddhas* were like the five emanations of Śiva, known as Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa and Iśāna. The *dhyānī-Buddhas* evolved with their divine consorts or *Śaktis*, having

five different *vījamantras*, *vāhanas*, *mudrās* and locations (*sthānas*) respectively. In the *Advayavajra-saṁgraha*, the five *dhyānī-Buddhas* have been depicted as five kinds of consciousness (*jñāna*) and they are: (a) *suviśuddha-dharma-dhātujñāna*=*Virocana*, (b) *ādarśa-jñāna*=*Akṣobhya*, (c) *pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna*=*Amitābha*, (d) *somantā-jñāna*=*Ratna-sambhava*, and (e) *kṛtyanuṣṭhāna-jñāna*=*Amoghasiddhi*. The same primordial consciousness manifest as five different forms. Now, the five *dhyānī-Buddhas* may be mentioned according to the five orders of emanations or faces of Śiva as:

dhyānī-Buddhas	skandas	directions	colours	elements	locations
1. Amoghasiddhi	*saṁskāra*	north	green	*kṣiti* (*gandha*)	legs
2. Amitābha	*samjñā*	west	red	*apaḥ* (*rasa*)	mouth
3. Ratna-sambhava	*vedanā*	south	yellow	*tejas* (*rūpa*)	navel
4. Akṣobhya	*vijñāna*	east	blue	*marut*(*śparsa*)	heart
5. Virocana	*rūpa*	centre	white	*vyoma*(*śabda*)	head

From both the charts of the emanations of Śiva and Buddha, it is seen that the conceptions of primal emanations of the five *rāgas* evolved purely on the basis of mythico-philosophical ideas of man.

In the Upaniṣads, the five faces-cum-mouths of Siva have been conceived as the five flames, i.e. blazing tongues of the sacrificial fire. The fire has been considered as the sacred symbol of Śiva in the Vedas, as the sun is that of Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva. The five faces of Śiva are also known as

Mahādeva (eastern), Bhairava (southern), Nandīvaktra (western), Umāvaktra (eastern), and Sadāśiva (the fifth face on the top known also as Iśāna). His three eyes, ten arms, the shield and trident, matted hair, tiger-skin all bear some inner significances. In the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, there are descriptions of the concrete forms of the various deities, including Śiva. They are "almost invariably accompanied by references to such esoteric symbolism underlying them, and the Purāṇakāra thus lays emphasis on the fact that what is being worshipped is not what it appears to be, but is something beyond it". Another Vedic name of Śiva is Rudra, which corresponds to Agni or fire. The treatises on music have also mentioned fire and air, in connection with the origin of the causal musical sound (*nāda*). It has been stated in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (1.3.-6) as:

Dehastham vahnimāhanti sa prerayati marutam/

* * * *

Na-kāreṇa prāṇa-nāmānam da-kārarenamanalam viduḥ/
Jātaḥ praṇāgni-samyogāttena nāde bhidīyate//

The subconscious mind is the storehouse of energy, and it has been conceived as the eternal blazing fire in an inverted triangular altar (▽). The triangular altar is the symbol of the subconscious mind or *mūlādhāra-cakra*. Not only musical sounds, but every particle and object of the world also evolve out of this causal fire, which is known in Tantra as the *kāmakalā* or *kuṇḍalinī* (divine latent energy). The *kuṇḍalinī* is the base of the causal sound or *nāda*, which is the fountain-head of music, and it has been conceived in a two-fold way, unmanifested (*anāhata*) and manifested (*āhata*). When the manifested subtle sound comes out through the medium of vocal chord, it is known as 'music'

or *rāga*. Thus we notice that music has been manifested in manifold ways. Again, a symbol always stands for an object, and in mnsic it has been conceived as a pointer to the real object that looms in the background of the symbol, and that object is Ātman, which is the fountain-head of everything in the universe.

The supreme aim of music is to realize the Essence that shines behind music. So the *rāgas* have been conceived as the media for the realization of the World-Essence, which is the source of all-knowledge, all-intelligence and all-bliss. The seers of music felt within themselves the necessity of animating the material structures of the *rāgas*. Living under the spell of time, space and causation, they imagined form of the Formless and personified the Impersonal. They conceived the idea of the tonal forms, possessed of flesh and blood like human beings and thus deified the *rāgas*. Then the invisible *rāgas* became visible in material forms. Sometimes it is said that the visual forms and their corresponding conceptual ones (*dhyānas*) cannot be established on a logical basis, as the tonal structures of the *rāgas* are not constant, being under the sway of change in different circumstances and different ages. Again, though the intuitive poets composed the conceptual forms or *dhyānas* of the *rāgas*, yet some of them composed *dhyānas* of the same *rāga* in a quite different way, which means that there cannot be a fixed standard of *dhyāna*-themes of the *rāgas*. But this argument or objection does not hold good at all. Because, by the change of the tonal forms (*rāga-rūpa*) or lyrical texts (*sāhitya*), the central theme or essence is never affected. As the one and unique Brahman, being the substratum of the changing phenomena, does not suffer any change in itself, rather its unbroken existence and

essence remain the same, so the number of placed (sharp) and displaced (flat or chromatic) tones, together with its tonal structures may undergo changes, but the basic ideal or conceptual character of the *rāgas* does not change at any time. It should be remembered that the poets and the seers of music composed the conceptual forms (*dhyānas*) of the Ideal or basic Type of each of the *rāgas* and not of their skeletal forms, and at the same time they considered the *rāgas* as living, immortal and divine. In fact, all true and talented artists desire permanent peace of mind through the practice (*sādhanā*) of music, and so through constant concentration and meditation upon the eternal Ideal of music (i.e. *rāga*), they attain that state. By way of example, it may be said that the conceptual forms or *dhyānas* of gods and goddesses like Śiva, Kālī, Durgā, Gaṇapati, Sarasvatī, Indra and others may be composed in different ways, but the central idea, together with the basis *dhyāna*-theme remains always the same, just as though a man undergoes changes from childhood to youth, from youth to old age, yet the basic identity of the man remains the same. So the number of notes and description of conceptual forms may change from time to time, but their basic forms and intrinsic nature and value suffer no change at any time under any circumstances. According to the inscrutable law of nature, every thing in this world of space and time undergoes change, the old forms are replaced by the new ones and the new ones by the newer ones, and so on, but it should be noticed that the basic character of every thing always remains unchanged. One thing may be described in manifold ways, the one and unique world-essence Brahman may be called by various names, but the Essence or Brahman is not affected thereby. The oldest literature of the Hindus,

the Ṛgveda has stated: "*ekaṃ sad viprā vahudhā vad*..." i.e. the one divine existence may be called by different names, but the fundamental existence remains the same. In fact, the conceptual forms (*dhyānas*) of the *rāgas* are known as the copies, prototypes or doubles, and so the *icons* of the *rāgas* may not be real by themselves, but they signify the Real that stands or shines behind the unreal or apparent. The seers of music are the worshippers of the real and not of the images of the *rāgas*, though it is taken for granted that they worship images or shadows of the *rāgas*. So we should not be confounded with the anomaly that the colourful conceptual forms or *dhyānas* of the old *rāgas* do not correspond to the new ones.

Now, what idea does the conceptual form (*dhyāna*) of *rāga* convey, and what is its true significance? It has already been stated that the conceptual forms are the media that help and intensify the inward tendencies of the artists, and thus enable them to understand and appreciate the intimate relation, existing between the tonal forms and the real divine forms of the *rāgas*. It has been said before that in India, the *rāgas* are not considered to be mere settings or skeletal structures of tones and tunes, but are taken as living ones, having in them real significance and value. The Vedic *Ṛṣis* perceived the energising vibrations of the life-principle (*prāṇaspandana*) in every atom and molecule of the universe. They regarded the sentient and insentient beings of the world as the positive and the negative poles of the same neutral Brahman, The *rāgas* themselves are the divine and dynamic life-principle, and as such they should be studied and looked upon from the religio-philosophical as well as psycho-material viewpoints for the better

re lization of their real import, deep significance and inner su limity.

It may be asked as to why those sentiments and moods of the *rāgas* were given material forms. The answer is that it is a fact that men of the material contingent world of space and time recognise and appreciate everything through some concrete media. Though the ultimate aim and object of all mortals are to reach the transcendental unity and happiness, yet they live and move in this world of matter so long the real value of human life is not realised by them. The emotions and emotive feelings of the *rāgas* were also conceived as material forms for easy grasp and appreciation of the men of the material world. This conception became inevitable for men of music in order to visualize the intrinsic value and beauty of the *rāgas*.

Let us take as example of a comtemplative composition (*dhyāna*) of the *rāga hindola*. Though there is no mention of any *dhyāna-mantra* of the *hindola* in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* of the early 13th century A.D., yet Sārańgdeva has given some contemplative descriptions of it, while describing its specific character and form. He has said: "*geyo veere raudra'dbhute rase, vasante prahare tūrye makara-dhvaja-vallabhe*", etc. From thus it is understood that the *rāga hindola* is possessed of the sentiments like *veera*, *raudra* and *adbhuta*, and is meant for the spring season. Now the significance of the name of the *rāga* is that which creates vernal atmosphere, and quickens the hearts of men with love, joy and hope. The *rāga hindola* is, therefore, sung in the spring and specially in the holy festival, that takes place in the spring. In the 16th 17th century A.D., the contemplative poets composed the *dhyāna-mantra* of the *hindola* thus: "*dolāṣu khelāsukhamādadhāna*", *etc.*

Raga Saveri
(Rajasthani School, 18th Century)

t...
Rāmāya...
śuddha jāt...
saptabhiryuk...
karuṇa-hāsya-rau...
* * ". ...
has also ...
the 29th ...
has been men...
Ṣaḍjodi...



Raga Dipaka
(Rajasthani, 18th Century)



Raga Kakubha

* * * *

Rasaṃ kāryamavasthāṃ ca jñātvā jyojyāḥ projoktṛbhiḥ/

* * * *

Evametā vudhair-jñeyā jātayo rasa-saṁśrayāḥ//

—*Nāṭyaśāstra*, 29. 1-16.

In the 5th-century A.D., we find that Mataṅga has described about the intrinsic sentiments (*rasas*) of the *jātirāgas* in the *rāga-lakṣaṇa* chapter of the *Bṛhaddeśī*: "*bhinna-ṣaḍjaḥ* * * *vibhatsa-bhayānakau rasau*" (p. 89); "*bhinna-pañcama* * * *vibhatsa-bhayānakau rasau*" (p. 89), etc. In the 9th-11th century A.D., Pārśvadeva has also described about the *rāgas*, having their respective sentiments. In the 3rd chapter of the *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*, he has mentioned: "*sa-payoḥ kampitaścaiva śṛṅgāre viniyujyate*", i.e. the *rāga vasanta* should be sung with the application of the sentiments, *śṛṅgāra* (3. 16); "*ṣaḍja-nyāsa-grahāṁśaśca rase veere prayujyate*", i.e. the *rāga śrī* should be sung with the application of the sentiments, *veera*, etc.". In the early 13th century A.D., Śāraṅgdeva has described the sentiments of the *grāmarāgas* in the 2nd chapter of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*: "*kākalyāntara-saṁyukto veere raudre'dbhute rase*", i.e. the *grāmarāga*, *ṣaḍjagrāma* should be applied as representing the sentiments, *veera*, *raudra* and *adbhuta* (2. 29); "*bhayānake ca veerādau rase*", etc., i.e. the *rāga gauḍa-kauśika* should be sung with the application of the sentiments, *bhayānaka*, *veera* etc. (2. 41).

In this way it can be shown that all the *rāgas* used to be sung according to their respective aesthetic sentiments, for creating different emotional moods in the minds of the

appreciative audiences. Thus the aesthetic sentiments of the *rāgas* were essential all the time and their contemplative formulae were composed not earlier than the 16th-17th century A.D., as are evidenced by the Sanskrit treatises on music (*Saṅgīta-śāstras*) of that time. The *Rāgamālās* were drawn immediately after the composition of the *dhyāna*-formulae.

It has been said that in the hey-days of India, music was nourished and developed purely from the religious standpoint for material as well as spiritual upliftments of the human society at large. But gradually music lost its pre-eminence and ancient heritage, and became an instrument of secular delight at the hands of the laity and a sort of pastime with the royal dignitaries. Time has come when it should be revived and studied in its true perspective, and the responsibility of it rests on the shoulder of the present generation. Music is a means to an end, and it should, therefore, be cultivated purely from this standpoint.

It may be mentioned in this connection that some of the conceptual forms (*dhyānas*) of some *rāgas* appear dissolute and sensual. But it should be remembered at the same time that they are no other than the divine expression of the prime sentiment, *śṛṅgāra*, (Eros) which has been regarded as the first and foremost aesthetic sentiment by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and also by the later Vaiṣṇava philosophers. The *śṛṅgāra-rasa* is the manifestation of the Beautiful. The nude figures, depicted on the temple facades of Jagannāth at Purī,[1] and other shrines of India might be due to the influence of the Tāntric Vāmācāra cult, but from the standpoint of artistic beauty and grace, their nudity does not affect the mind of the onlookers, nor sully

1 These have recently been replaced by figures of different deities.

the serene beauty of art. The nude sculptural figures of the Yakṣiṇīs and the half-nude ones of some of the deities and the female attendants of the Royal household were not chiselled out for depraving the human taste, but they were considered as symbols, as it were, of the basic creative sentiment, *śṛṅgāra*. It should again be remembered that 'to the pure every thing is pure' and that art being an expression of the Beautiful, it is not a believer in the commonplace notions of indecency and indecorum. As light and shade —brightness and darkness—appear as different shades of the same resplendency which means beauty when viewed from different angles of vision, so both of them are indispensable media for the realization of the Absolute, the transcendental Beautiful.

Now let us illustrate some of the *icons* of some main *rāgas* that form the fundamental features of Indian music. They are:

1. *Bhairava*: The rāga *bhairava* represents the image of the Lord Śiva. He possesses two hands and three eyes. The current of the sacred Ganges rushes down his tawny matted hair, the crescent moon is on his forehead, crawling serpents are in his hands, a garland of skulls is round his neck, and he is dressed in a tiger-skin. A shining trident and *damaru* (kettle-drum) are in his hands. He rides on the bull, Nandi.

2. *Mālava-kauśika*: He is a lovey youth. Though he drinks honey (*madhu*), yet he looks grave and serene. There hangs a garland of pearls round his neck, and he wears a blue linen. He is engaged in merry-making (*rasa-krīḍā*) with fair young maidens.

3. *Hindola*: He is a lovely youth surrounded by beautiful young ladies. He looks like an embodiment

of love. The spring blossoms around him with all its beauty and lustre. He swings amongst the maidens who are playing the *veeṇās* and beating the drums. It is said that the Lord Śiva created him out of his navel-lotus (*nābhi-padma*).

4. *Dīpaka*: He is youth, and wears a red cloth. There shines a fine garland of pearls (*gajamuktā*) round his neck. He is always engaged in merry-making with the youths and young maidens. Riding on an elephant, he travels on hills and dales during night time. He sings a celestial song that soothes the heart of every-one and at the same time creates fire which destroys all the trees and animals of the forest on the mountain. It is said that *dīpaka-rāga* originated from the scorching rays (eyes) of the sun.

5. *Śrī*: He wears garlands of *padmarāgamani* and sapphires. He shines like hundreds and thousands of suns and moons. He is seated on a golden throne, wearing a snow-white cloth, and holding a full-blown lotus. Some of his beloved maidens (*nāyikās*) are singing and dancing around him, and some others are playing on *veeṇās* and *tamburās*, accompanied with drums. It is said that *śrī-rāga* originated from the navel of the earth.

6. *Megha*: He is of deep blue colour like that of the blue lotus. He wears the ochre cloth (*gairika*), and his matted hairs appear like the cluster of clouds. He holds in his left hand a trident (*triśūla*) and in the right a sword (*kṛpāṇa*). He looks like a young warrior. In the descriptions of the *icons* of the *rāgas*, I have mainly followed *Saṅgīta-taraṅgiṇī* by Radhā Mohon Sen of Bengal. Besides these, there are other kinds of descriptions of the conceptual forms of the *rāgas*, composed by different poets.

Now, what is the exact time when the conception of graphic representations of the musical modes or *rāga*-themes came into being? Nānālāl Chamanlāl Mehṭā is of opinion that the idea was unknown to the poets, seers and the painters of the 15th century, and also to Śāraṅgdeva (early 13th century), who wrote his standard work on Indian music, the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, in the court of the Yādava King Siṅhana of Devagiri. Now, it was the common practice that the painters copied and translated the ideas of the poets, and those poets were no other than the seers of the *rāgas* and the *sāhitya* of music. The intuitive philosophers, poets and seers of music furnished the intellectual and aesthetic materials of the conception of the pictures and stone-figures and set down the rules, on and within which the artists were free to express them.

Regarding the date of the emergence of the *rāga* and *rāgiṇī* pictures, Mehṭā has further mentioned in the *Studies in Indian Painting*: "It is, therefore, probable that the *Rāgiṇī* picture first came into vogue some time in the 16th century, after the advent of the Moghuls, when the entire fabric of the common life of the people was undergoing a subtle transformation which found expression in the propagation of the cult of Bhakti, broadcast through the exalted verse of the Vaiṣṇavite poets, and the inspired word of Chaitanya...for unlike the Gupta renaissance, the 16th century revival was democratic in its nature and universal in its appeal. It is also interesting to note that there are Hindu as well as Moghul versions of Rāgiṇī and Bāramāsī (seasonal) pictures, which can be easily distinguished by their characteristic differences of style and treatment. Some of the Moghul melody-pictures have Persian inscriptions. A good Rājput Rāgiṇī picture has more of temperament and imagi-

native feeling, while the Moghul version is generally perfect as regards the splendour of its stage effects. The Rāmpur State Library has an excellent series of *Rāgamālā* pictures in the Moghul style of the late 18th or the early 19th century. Most of the *Rāgamālā* belong generally to the 17th and the 18th century and there are not many pictures which can be confidently assigned to an earlier period".[1]

Now, before coming to any decision as to whether the *Rāgamālā* pictures first came in vogue sometime in the 16th-17th century A.D., let us discuss some of the comments, made by the experts in the field of art and culture. There is no doubt that the ancient musicologists formulated some theories of music, and the conceptual form of every *rāga* was composed according to those theories. So far as the printed Sanskrit book on music is concerned, we get Paṇḍit Somanātha's *Rāga-vibodha* (1609 A.D.), and in that book we get the conceptual forms or *dhyānas* of many of the *rāgas*. Some are of opinion that Nārada had already composed the conceptual forms of the *rāgas* in his *Pañcama-sārasaṁhitā*, generally ascribed to 1362 Śaka, which corresponds to 1440 A.D. But there is a controversy regarding the date of the said book, and it is also a matter for investigation whether Nārada composed *dhyānas* prior to Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) Now, besides the tonal forms, the conceptual form of each *rāga* has been conceived in two different ways, one, with the body of sound (*nāda-tanu*) and the other, with the body of deity (*devamaya-tanu*). The colourful paintings of the *rāgas* of the Rājasthānī School were executed in Rājputanā, and Dr. Coomāraswāmy is of opinion that these paintings were executed from the early

1 Mr. Meṭā has used the spelling 'Moghul' instead of Mughal.

13th to the middle of the 19th century A.D. He has said in his celebrated *Rājput Paintings* (Oxford, 1916): "Rājasthānī paintings are those works which have been executed in Rājputanā from Bikāner to the border of Gujrāt, and from Jodhpur to Gwālior and Ujjain. We either know, or may infer that the great centres of Rājasthānī paintings have been Jaipur, Orcha and Bikāner, and presumably Udaipur and Ujjain, possibly also Mathurā at an earliest date... Its period may be taken as from about the beginning of the 13th century A.D. when the Rājputs were disposessed of capital cities such as Delhi...to the middle of the 19th century". Percy Brown is of opinion that the Rājasthānī *Rāgamālā* paintings were executed from 1550 to 1900 A.D. Regarding the characteristics of those paintings, he has said: "This Rājput painting, for that in the title by which it has become designated, is essentially Hindu in expression, and in many aspects demonstrates that it is the indigenous art of India, a direct descendant of the classic frescoes of Ajantā."

Besides the Rājasthānī *Rāgamālā* pictures, there are *Pāhaḍī*, Mughal and post-Mughal *rāgā-rāgiṇī* paintings. The *Pāhāḍī* paintings of the *rāgas* evolved from the land extending from Jammu to Almorāh, and within this vast region, the paintings of Jammu and Kāṅgrā Valley were of greatest value. The Rājputs of the Kāṅgrā Valley protected the region from the invasion of the Muhammedans until 1806-1846. According to Percy Brown, the *Rāgamālā* paintings of Kāṅgrā reached the zenith in pictorial quality.

During the reign of the Emperor Akbar (1542-1605 A.D.), the *Rāgamālā* paintings were executed with new vigour and spirit. Basil Gray has said in connection with the

intermingling of the Mughal and the Rājasthānī Arts: "He (Akbar) was the real creator of the school of Mughol painting as of the Mughol Empire". Mughol paintings of the *rāgas* of that time were influenced by Rājasthānī paintings, to some extent, because "the Rājput Rājās had a special position in the Mughol Empire....... The Rājās of the Rājput States now helped the vernacular renaissance by supporting the poets, musicians and painters, while at the same time, through them, the Hindu and the Mughol made contact".[1] Regarding the Rājput portrait of the indigenous school, Prof. O. C. Gāṅgoly has said that "after the development of Mughol school of Portrait in the early 16th century, the two schools, the earlier indigenous Indian and the later Mughol—got entangled and influenced each other. It is now, therefore, difficult from the products of the fusion of the two to recover the outlines of the earlier Hindu traditions and the few surviving examples seem to prove that the pure Rājasthānī idiom has been practised side by side with the mixed Mughol style" (*Mārg*. Vol. VII, Sept. 1954, No. 4, pp. 14-15).[2] This can also be applied to the Rājasthānī paintings of the *Rāgamālā* pictures. Prof. Goetz has also expressed the same opinion, while dealing with Rājput sculpture and painting under Rājā Umad Singh of Chāmbā (*Mārg*. Vol. VII, Sept. 1954). Many are of opinion that from the 13th-14th to 18th-19th century, the *Rāgamālā* paintings and the visual *rāga-rāgiṇī* pictures evolved with their exquisite beauty and colour.

The Bijāpur School of *Rāgamālā* paintings also reached its zenith under the patronage of Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh II.

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1 Basil Grey has used the spelling 'Mughol'.

2 Prof. Gāṅgoly has also used the spelling 'Mughol'.

He was a contemporary of Akbar and Jāhāṅgīr, and he "stove hard to evolve a distinctive Deccani culture which incorporated what was best in indigenous and foreign traditions". Ādil Shāh II was a fine musician and composer, and the *Kitāb-i-Nauras* is a genuine proof of his musical talent. He composed many songs in *bhopālī*, *malhār*, *gaurī*, *kedāra*, *purab* (*pūrvī*), *kānāḍā*, *dhānaśrī*, *āsāvarī*, *rāmakelī*, *māru*, *naurez* (?), etc. Dr. Moti Chandra has said in his article, *Portraits of Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh II* (*Mārg*. Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 24-28): "It is interesting to note that in several songs certain *rāgas* are visualised. Bhairava is visualised as Śiva with the crescent moon upon the forehead, holding a human skull in one hand and trident in the other ; he is served by the bull ; he wears a tiger skin and serpents are his ornaments. *Malhār* visualises rainy weather with dark clouds, the lightning, the trees with new leaves and dancing peacocks. *Āsāvarī* is a beautiful young woman wearing red garments and yellow bodice ; *Kalyāṇī*, again a charming woman, wears variegated indigo garments ; *Karṇāṭī* is visualised as a charming lady wearing an indigo blue *sāri* and blue bodice, and *Rāmakelī* is visualised as a charming girl of dark complexion playing with her friends". But Dr. Moti Chandra has raised some doubt whether these Deccani Hindi *dhyāna-mantras* are based on some Sanskrit text, which remains to be traced. To this it can be said that *dhyāna-mantras*, though differing in their compositions or descriptions, are to be found in the Sanskrit texts on music by Pt. Somanāth, Pt. Dāmodara, Nārada of the *Rāganirūpaṇa*, and others. Now, regarding the original quality of the Bijāpurī style of *Rāgamālā* paintings Dr. Moti Chandra has further said : "If Akbar gave a new direction and outlook to

painting in the North, it was Ibrāhim who brought the Deccani painting to a perfection which could claim for it an important niche in the temple of Indian Art".

The *Rāgamālā* paintings of Murshidābād, Bengal are also worth-mentioning in this connection. "The first phase of Mughal painting in Bengal", says Robert Skelton, "begins with the decline of patronage of Delhi during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707). The Murshidābād technique of *Rāgamālā* paintings really reached their zenith, during the short reign of Sirāj-ud-daulā, the young Nawāb. Out of a set of four *Rāgamālā* paintings of the period in the collection of Mrs. D'Arcy Hart, one depicts *Hindola-Rāga* (1755 A.D.) and the other *Kakubha-Rāgiṇī* (1755 A.D.). Among the paintings from other *Rāgamālā* sets of the same period, mention may be made of *Syāmagujjarī-Rāgiṇī* (1755 A.D.) in the collection of Bodleian Library, *Bhairavī Rāgiṇī* (1755-60 A.D.) and *Kedāra-Rāgiṇī* (1770 A.D.) in the collection of India Office Library and also that of *Vilāvala-Rāgiṇī* (1770 A.D.) in the collection of Victoria and Albert Museum". Robert Skelton has further stated that "a characteristic female type from the series is found in the *Kakubha-Rāgiṇī*, where between two leafy, fruit-laden trees, the girl is watched by peacocks as she awaits her lover with garlands. Among paintings from other *Rāgamālā* sets, which can be assigned to this period, the treatment of *Śyāmagujjarī* from an album in the Bodleian Library effectively draws us into its mood of quiet reflection. Another painting in the same collection depicts a young girl bedecked with jewels and garlands approaching a shrine at night, her supple charms emphasized by the sombre simplicity of the background. The row of

dark, rounded bushes edging the horizon in this picture is a characteristic Murshidābād idiom".

It can be said in conclusion that the pictorial representations of the *rāgas* of Indian music are essential for formulating the imaginative impulse which is responsible for transforming the abstract notes of music into concrete forms or images. The pictorial representations of the *rāgas* are necessary for visualizing the aesthetic or emotive essence of the *rāgas*, for the attainment of perfect peace and enlightenment in this domain of delusion.

APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER XIV

The Dhyānamantraṃs and Sāhityas of the Five Principal Rāgas:



1. भैरवः :—

(a) गङ्गाधरः शशिकलातिलकस्त्रिनेत्रः
सर्पैर्विभूषिततनुर्गजकृत्तिवासाः ।
भास्वत्त्रिशूलकर एष नृमुण्डधारी
शुभ्राम्बरो जयति भैरव आदिरागः ॥[1]

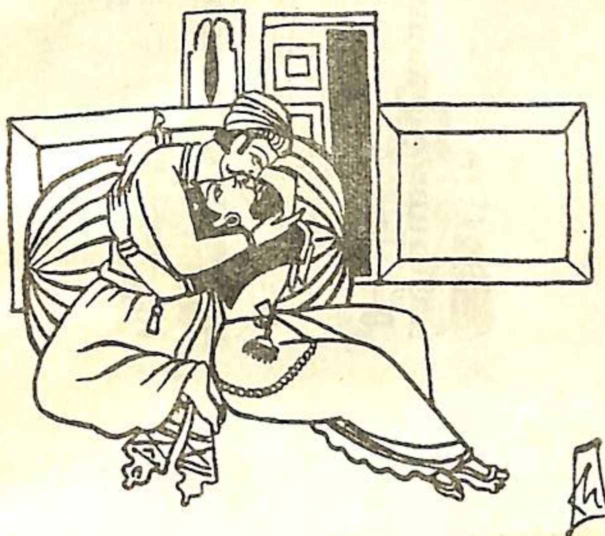
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1 There are different descriptions of this *dhyāna*.

(b) धैवतांश ग्रहन्यासो रिपहीनोथ मागतः ।

भैरवस्तु हि विज्ञेयः धैवतादिक मूर्च्छनः ।

धैवतोविकृतोयत्र औडवः परिकीर्तितः ॥



2. मालवकौशिकः (मालकोषः) :—

(a) आरक्तवर्णो धृतगौरयष्टिः

वीरः सुवीरेषु कृतप्रवीरः ।

वीरैर्वृतो वैरिकपोलमाला-

मालीमतो मालवकौशिकोऽयम् ॥[1]

(b) षड्जग्रहांशकन्यासः सम्पूर्णः कौशिको मतः ।

मूर्छना प्रथमा ज्ञेया काकलीस्वरसम्मतः ॥

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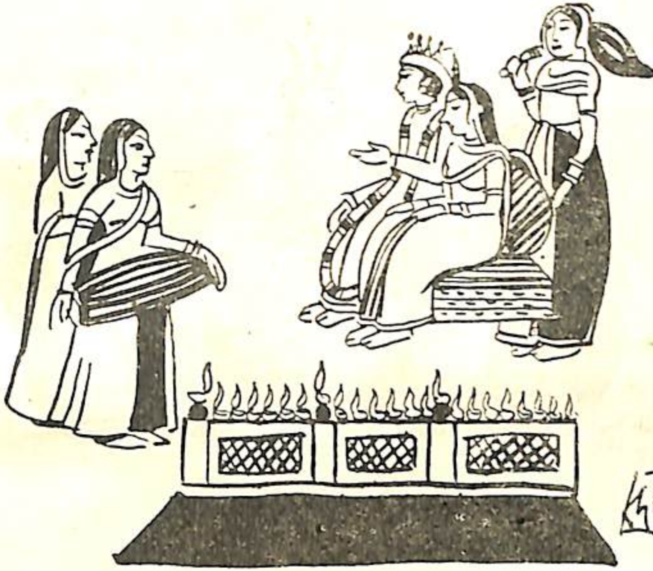
1 There are different readings of this *dhyāna*.



3. हिन्दोलः :—

(a) नितम्बिनी मन्दतरङ्गितासु
दोलासु खेलासुखमादधानः ।
खर्व कपोतद्युतिकामयुक्तो
हिन्दोलरागः कथितो मुनीन्द्रैः ॥

(b) हिन्दोलको रिधत्यक्तः सलयः कथितो बुधैः ।
मूर्छना शुद्धमध्या स्यात् औडवः काकलीयुतः ॥



4. **दीपकः :—**

(a) वाला-रतार्थं प्रविलीनदीपे
गृहेऽन्धकारे सुमनो प्रवृत्ता ।
तस्याः शिरोभूषणरत्नदीपैः
लज्जां तदानीं कृतवान्प्रदीपः ॥[1]

(b) षड्जग्रहांशकन्यासः सम्पूर्णो दीपको मतः !
मूर्छना शुद्धमध्याख्यात् गातव्या गायनै सदा ॥

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1 There are different descriptions of this *rāga*.



5· श्रीः :—

(a) अष्टादशाब्द स्मरचारुमूर्तिः[1]

धीरोल्लसत् पल्लवकर्णपूरः ।

षड्जादिसेव्योऽरुणवस्त्रधारी

श्रीरागराजः क्षितिपालमूर्तिः ॥

(b) श्रीरागः स च विख्यातः सत्रयेण विभूषितः ।

पूर्णः सर्वगुणोपेतः मूर्छना प्रथमा मता ।

केचित्तु कथयन्तेन ऋषभत्रयसम्मतम् ॥

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1 There are different readings of this line.



6. मेघः :—

(a) नीलोत्पलाभव-पुरिन्दुसमानचैलः

पीताम्बरस्तृषितचातकयाच्यमानः ।

पीयूषमन्दहसितोघनमध्यवर्ती

वीरेषु राजति युवा किल मेघरागः ॥

(b) मेघः पूर्णा धलयः स्यात् उत्तरायतमूर्च्छनः ।

विकृतो धैवतो गेयः श्रृङ्गाररसपूरकः ॥

—सङ्गीतदर्पणम् (Tānjore edition, 1952).

It should be noted in this connection that though the tonal forms of some of the *rāgas* have now been changed, yet their *dhyāna*-forms shall nearly be the same.

II

It has already been mentioned about the *nādamaya* and *devatāmaya* forms of the *rāgas*. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) has described the *nādamaya-rūpa* of the *rāgas* in V. 11-12 (*pañcama-vivekaḥ*) and the *devatāmaya-rūpa* in V. 167-168. Pt. Somanāth has said,

(क) सुस्वरवर्णविशेषं रागस्य बोधकं द्वेधा ।
नादात्म च देवमयं तत्क्रमतोऽनेकमेकं तु ॥ ११॥

नादात्मेति । नादात्मकं षड्जादिसमूहरूपं ध्वनिमयम् । देवमयं च देवता-देहमयं च । तद्द्विविधं रूपं क्रमतोऽनेकमेकं च ; रागस्य नादमयं तु रूप-मनेकम् ; देवतामयं त्वेकमेवेत्यर्थः ॥११॥

(ख) उक्तं रूपमनेकं तत्तद्रागस्य नादमयमेवम् ।
अथ देवतामयमिह क्रमतः कथये तदेकैकाम् ॥
अथ देवतामयमेकैकं क्रमतः तेनैवोद्देशक्रमेण कथये । १६८

In fact, the *nādamaya* form of a *rāga* is the *svara-rūpa* (tonal or sound form), whereas the *devatāmaya* form is the *dhyāna-rūpa* (contemplative divine form). Regarding the *devatāmaya-rūpa* or divine visual form of the *rāga*, Prof. O. C. Gāṅgoly has said: "How can the *language of words* be translated into the *language of visible forms*? But the new discoveries of science in various spheres are achieving new miracles every day, and expert scientists have discovered common fundamental principles underlying the *language of sound* and the *language of form*. It has been proved that when sound develops a very large number of vibrations it can convert itself into visible forms. At such a stage audible things and objects become apprehensible on the path of our eye-sight. But these miraculous reconciliations of contradictory forms of natural phenomena do not much help us

to find a logical justification for representing musical forms in the effigies of visual forms and colours. This practice can only be explained on the basis of certain peculiar theories as to the essence of Indian melodies, enunciated by our musical sages. According to this theory, it is believed that each *rāga* or *rāgiṇī* has its peculiar psychic form, corresponding to its sound-body over which the former presides as the nymph, deity or *devatā*, the presiding genius or the god of that particular melody. These *devatās* of Image-Forms dwell in the superterrestrial region—the Paradise of Musical Symphonies—from which ethereal region each melody could be evoked and induced to descend to this earth through the prayer of the musical performer with the aid of the definite of symphony, peculiar to each melody. In order to induce these angels of music, the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* to descend from their Paradise to the dusty level of this earth of ours, our music practitioners have to undertake strenuous penances and *sādhanā* and send up their prayers in peculiar shapes through different forms of meditative processess and formulas, to please these Angels through these melodies, descend on the voice of our singers and on the strings of our musical instruments. It is further claimed by our musical sages that by the recital of these *dhyāna-ślokas*, that is to say, the contemplative verses describing the melodies, one can visualize the Angelic Forms of the *rāga-devatās*. When these presiding Angels of melodies descend on this earth, being pleased with the adoration of our musical *sādhakas* by reason of their spiritual presence, this little piece of material earth of ours, at least, for a short time, is turned into a Paradise of melodies, and mortal man, through the medium of immortal melodies, have the chance of tasting the Ambrosias of Heavens".

Further he has said: "On the basis of these descriptive verses painters have prepared pictorial representations of most of the melodies in miniature sizes, the verses being quoted on the top of each pictures. ......That these pictorial diagrams, visualizing the spirit and character of each melody, were prepared for the use and guidance of our music practitioners, is proved by the fact that at a certain stage the descriptive verses were composed in the Hindi language for the benefit of those who did not understand the Sanskrit language. At the time of Akbar, these descriptive verses were translated into Persian, as most of the musicians of the court of Akbar did not read the Hindi language, and for the benefit of this group the verses were rendered into the Persian language, and many pictures of *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* have survived, carrying the descriptive comments, written on the pictures in Persian script and language. ......We have a complete vocabulary in terms of significant melodies to express the whole gamut of human feelings in all shades and varieties of moods, skilfully woven with the moods of nature, and related to our reactions to the various situations in life, of actions of love, of suffering, of enjoyment".[1]

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1 Cf. *The Rājasthānī Painting*: Illustrations of Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs, in *The Puṣpāñjalī*, published on behalf of the B. T. Mill Ltd., Burhanpur, R. S. (Nimar) by Mr. A. R. Kanoriā, in 1957, pp. 85-87.

CHAPTER XV

THE AESTHETIC-CUM-PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT OF INDIAN MUSIC

I

A study in the art and science of Indian music should be preceded an enquiry into the mystery of the unfathomable depth of one's being. Well has it been said by the eminent psycho-analyst, Dr. Jung that speech is originally a system of emotional and intuitive sounds,—sounds that express terror, fear, anger, love, sympathy, etc. Such is also the views of the Indian Ālaṁkārikas and playwrights, headed by Bharata, Abhinavagupta, Bhojarāj, and others. Bharata has expounded eight kinds of aesthetic sentiment that come out from the level of man's basic psychic content, and generate emotional feelings or moods, like terror, fear, love, etc. In music, these emotional moods (*bhāvas*) or mental attitudes manifest through the medium of the tonal sound.

Music is the combination of word and tune,—*sāhitya* and *sura*, nay, it is an emotional presentation of sounds or succession of sounds or tones—an emotional symbolism of man's inner depth. When the colourful tones are presented, both the musicians and the listeners cannot but help expressing their mental attitudes outwardly by the movements of head and limbs. The movements of the material body are exercised due to the reflex action, corresponding to the modifications of the mind. A *rāga* is an emotional product or emotive manifestation of the mental attitudes, and so it

expresses the aesthetic feelings of love, devotion, anger, hatred, egoism, etc. The intuitive artists saw in their ecstatic vision the emotional forms of the *rāgas*, and the poets composed their contemplative compositions (*dhyānas*), corresponding to specific colours, movements and sentiments.

Music is an aesthetic representation of the artist's inner depth. It is rather a projection of artist's own mental feeling and imagination in the outer world. It is, therefore, a transformation or translation of the ideal into the real, or it can be said to be the production of the tonal form or picture, corresponding to that of the mind, combined with colour, pitch, grace, harmony, melody, successions of tones and microtones.

The inherent desires or impulses of man and all animals are the cause of outward manifestation of everything. A man designs the ideational form or image of a thing first in his mental plane and then projects it outside in materialized form. So all the material constituents of music are, in a sense, the mental construction, and have their being in the outside world, corresponding to mental images. Indian Vedāntists also admit that the outward expressions are but the reflections (*prativimba*) of things behind the mind, and they are known as *vimba*, like the image of a human face on a mirror. It is a *double* or projection of the real face behind. Music is, therefore, a psycho-material or ideal-real object, and so the intuitive artists cultivate music for appreciating both its forms, ideational and real—subtle and gross. In fact, music is designed, apperceived and enjoyed both inside and outside. As the First-born Lord, Īśvara projects without efforts the manifold world from within, in order to witness and enjoy His own beauty

and glory *par excellence*, which is known as the sportive play (*līlā*), so an artist of music begins music with the help of tones and tunes from within and then enjoys the beauty, grace and grandeur of his own projection (*sṛṣṭi*). The works of construction and enjoyment of music happen simultaneously or co-existently, as Dr. S. Alexander says in some different way, in his *Space Time and Deity* that the enjoyed and the contemplated are together or compresent. He says: "The contemplation of a contemplated object is, of course, the enjoyment which is together with that object or is aware of it". The artist, therefore, doubly enjoys his creation or projection of music: first, the construction of his art, and then enjoyment in himself and appreciation from his sympathetic audiences. The case of a sculptor or a painter is the same. All the cultivators of Fine Arts, musicians, sculptors and painters, adopt the same process, in the construction or projection of their motifs or themes, though techniques and textures of their productions differ from one another.

Men sing and dance to express their feelings of joy and sorrow. They enjoy, they lament, and they express their awe and reverence, through the medium of colourful tones and balanced rhythms of songs and dances. Now, what is the cause behind? It is because the psychic content, that lies with him, stirs his emotion and makes him to create, project and enjoy music. It may be called the emotional side of the musical experience, which is known as sensuous appreciation and creation or projection. But psychologists, Revesz of Holland and Seashore of America are of opinion that though the concept of musicality is attached to the psychology of music, yet the musical experience in relation to emotion and sensuous

appreciation are not the entire thing in the field of musicality. Prof. Revesz says that we must hold fast to the thought that the musical aesthetic is the beautiful in music; and it is the real core of the matter as far as musicality is concerned. It has a reference to the *autonomous emotional effect* of music, to the pleasure, deriving from the *specific musical intellectual form* of the art creation, which, in musical persons, can arouse responsive feelings and create aesthetic experience or emotive feeling.

The aesthetic content is an important thing in the domains of psychology and philosophy of music, and it should be experienced and appraised. But such an experience is mental or psychical in its character, and so it must be inwardly digested and fashioned. So it must be taken that a musical person is possessed of a deep understanding of musical form and structure, together with the inward aesthetic content and its consciousness. In truth, it is the inward tendency of the musical person to dive deep into the mood of music and get a relation to it, which has an effect on his whole spiritual being.

Prof. Revesz is of opinion that a man of music who truly and sincerely seeks to appreciate the aesthetic content of music, that lies deep at the bottom of tone, tune and colour of the musical composition, profoundly feels as though he is creating the art. Therefore *musicality* is an inborn quality "that requires (as is also capable of) development—irradiates the *whole individual*, and accordingly forms a characteristic trait of the *personality as a whole*". Prof. Carl Seashore and psychologist Johannes von Karies are almost of the same opinion, though they differ from Prof. Revesz, regarding the symptomatic characteristics of *musical aptitude* and *musical talent*.

Now, what do we mean by *aptitude* and *talent*? These two things are essential in the *creative* or *interpretative* field of music, together with the real appreciation of both the psychological and aesthetic contents. By *aptitude* we mean *the inborn capacity* of a person, that helps him to realize and develop certain general or specific types of behaviour, properties, and capacities. Therefore *aptitude* is a potential ability and a native latent endowment, by means of which productive powers may be realised through the operation of environmental factors and the systematic training of the personality.

On the other hand, *talent* indicates *capacities* far above the average in a special field of human activity. Talent is specially evident in the realm of music like prodigy. It has been divided into two types, the *creative* and the *reproductive-interpretative*. Though sometimes they manifest simultaneously in one person, yet they seem highly independent. But inspite of all these things or capacities, one should lay paramount stress on the spontaneous musical inspiration, welling up from the depth of the unconscious. The unconscious or subconscious layer is the original base of the psychic content, and it sends forth inspiration and creative urge, to compose or compile music and to create beauty and life-force in it. The unconscious or subconscious layer is the 'vast field', say Swāmīs Vivekānanda and Abhedānanda, where hundreds and thousands of impressions (*saṁskāras*) of past and present incarnations of every living being lie burried. These embeded impressions or psychic contents are the prime-mover of characters and habits of all living beings.

Psychology of music is exclusively concerned with the awakening of the flashes of the primal psychic force-centre.

The study in the psychology of music brings unto us a clear understanding as well as an intuitive perception of utility and importance of the force-centre, and it gives us a full realization of the real object and ideal of the musical contents. The great laboratories like those of Bell Telephone Company, Harvard and Iowa Universities of America, have made considerable researches on the psychological aspect of music, which have enriched the Western musicology. We are glad to know that in India, the Deccan College of Poona has started researches on physics and psychology of music under the able guidence of Dr. Sankaran, Dr. B. Chaitanya Deva and others. Similarly the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore has started psychological study and research of Indian music. Their scientific findings will undoubtedly help us to unravel many things of music, that still remain as mysterious, unsolved or unexplored in the field of musical study. The University of Jabbalpore and that of Annamalai, Madras are also making experiments on the effect of music on the properties of matter and plants, from the standpoint of Organic Chemistry and Botany. All these new constructive experiments and researches on Indian music will pave the path of the artists and the musicologists to visualize and interpret music in a better and more logical way.

II

It has already been said that sound is the flesh of music, and melody, emotional sentiment and mood are its blood. Sound evolves in a successive order from the subterranean self. "The science of sound", says Dr. Miller, "is related to at least three phases of human endeavour, the intellectual,

the utilitarian and the aesthetic". The Indian Tantra and other philosophies admit more than these three phases.

The field of science of sound still ramains unexplored. Hermann Helmholtz was a great German scientist of the nineteenth century, and his book, *The Sensations of Tone* explored the mystery of structure of musical sounds and their intervals, nature of voice production and hearing, and development of musical scales, pitch, colour, etc. After him, Keönig, Raybigh, Boehm and other eminent scientists made observations and experiments in the field of sound theory. The scientists of the twentieth century, like Sir James Jeans, Sullivan, Einstein and others have thrown much light on the field of musicology. The psycho-analysts like Dr. Freud, Dr. Adler, Dr. Jung and others did some work on the origin of the sound, and have declared that the unconscious or preconscious is the origin of the gross sound. The Tantra also states that the unconscious or *kuṇḍalinī* is the seat of the causal sound or *nāda*. The gross sound can be classified into two main heads, musical and non-musical. The unmanifested sound is the causal one and it is known as the *anāhata-nāda*. The manifested sound is known as the *āhata-nāda*.

Sound becomes musical when it is pleasing and soothing. The succession of sounds that pleases and soothes the minds of men and animals are known as '*rāga*', and the very name of it expresses the true significance of it ('*rañjayati iti rāgaḥ*'). Bharata, Śāraṅgdeva and other authors on drama and music have described ten specific qualities (*daśavidha-guṇas*) to determine the nature of a *rāga*, and those qualities are: *pūrṇa*, *prasanna*, *madhura*, *ślakṣṇa*, *sama*, *rakta*, *vikruṣṭa*, *sukumāra*, *alaṁkṛta* and *vyakta*. Vālmikī also says in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.): '*sahitau madhuraṃ*

raktaṃ sampannaṃ svara-sampadā. The quality, *rakta* signifies the pleasing sounds, emanating from *veeṇā*, *veṇu* or *vaṁśī* and vocal chord of man. In the early Christian era, Bharata has also determined the ten characteristics of a *rāga*, which are strictly observed even to his day, in both the Northern and Southern systems of music. But in spite of all these qualities and characteristics, the psychological aspect of music is concerned with the aesthetic or emotional side. The psychology of music states that emotional sentiments are the fountain-head of music, and they animate music with living sensation and feeling.

Now, what are the emotional sentiments (*rasa*) and moods (*bhāva*)? The emotional sentiments are the aesthetic qualities or properties of the mind (*psyche*), and they originate from different attitude and environmental conditions of it. Now the very connotation of the term *rasa*, says Prof. S. N. Śāstrī, is "that which can be relished' ('*rasyate iti rasaḥ*';" '*āsvādyatvāt rasaḥ*'). Effect of the relish of *rasa*, metaphorically called flavour, is very wonderful. It creates an ecstatic joy in the heart of the enjoyer, and leaves upon him an impression of delight (*lokottara-ānanda*). It is compared to the bliss, enjoyed by a Yogīn when he is in unision with the Self. The relish of *rasa* creates a concentrated state of mental harmony (*sattvodreka*) unadulterated with any other element of human nature; and for this reason, irrespective of nature and substratum of a particular type of *rasa* which is relished, there is an outcome of joy to a sensible person (*sahṛdaya*). That is why when *karuṇa-rasa* or *bibhatsa-rasa* with grief and disgust as their basic features produce a state of jubilance in the mind of the enjoyer, and elevate him far above the region of human limitations and transport him to the realm

of total bliss ("*rase vai saḥ, rasaṃ labdhvā ānandī-bhavati*" "Taittirīya Upaniṣad, II-VII). It is so possible for the simple reason that an enjoyer, in course of his cognition (*bhāvanā*) of a *rasá*, feels that his individual existence in this world, which is subjected to diverse disabilities by virtue of his birth, caste, status, wealth and other circumstances, sinks, and he is in full sympathy with the sentiment which is an expression of Self. This enjoysome attitude is the result of the force of fruition which is again a mental operation or an *effectum mentis* called *bhogakṛttva-vyāpāra.* These two forces of cognition and fruition (*bhāvakatva* and *bhogakṛtva* respectively relieve the enjoyer of his individual existence and identifies him with the substratum (*ālambana*) of the *rasa*. The cumulative effect of these two forces is to remove the collateral obstructions from the course of identification, which are caused by such factors as distance of time, place and personality, including feeling of unapproachability to the other *ālambana* of *rati*, felt by the relisher in case of the *śṛṅgāra-rasa*. The mental fusion (*druti*) is the result of the sentimental relish (*rasāsvāda*), which has a maddening effect having an oblivious tendency".[1]

The Vaiṣṇava philosophers classify the emotional sentiments (*rasa*), into eight or nine classes. In the *Bhakti-rasāyaṇa*, eleven kinds of emotions are prescribed for achieving the highest kind of love (*prema*), which makes communion with all-love God possible. The Vaiṣṇava *sādhakas* mention that the permanent aesthetic feeling (*sthāyī-bhāva*) is the only means of attaining the celestial love, which knows no selfish return and material gratification.

1 Cf. *The Laws and Practice of Sanskrit Drama*, vol. I (1961), pp. 258-259.

The Upaniṣad says that the all-beautiful and all-love God is the emotional feeling Itself: "*raso vai saḥ*". Madhusūdana Sarasvatī says in his *Bhaktirasāyaṇa* (I. 10) that the all-bliss God is transformed into emotional feeling: "*bhagavān paramānanda-svarūpaḥ svayameva hi* * * *rasatāmeti*".

In the *Bhaktirasāyaṇa*, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī says "*ata stadeva bhavatvaṃ rasatāṃ yāti,*" i. e. the modal consciousness (*vṛtti*) itself is manifested as the aesthetic sentiment (*rasa*). Bharata says in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (VI. 32) that the permanent emotional sentiment (*sthāyī-rasa*), together with the moods evolves as *vibhāva*, *anubhāva*, *vyabhicārī-bhāva*: "*vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicārī-rasa-samyogād-rasaniṣpattiḥ*". He says further that as medicine is made from the extract of many herbs and vegetables, so the emotional sentiment grows from the combination of different mental moods. Śrī-Saṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Lollāṭa, Abhinavagupta, Viśvanāth Chakravurty and others and the authors of the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*, *Bhaktisandarbha*, *Pritisandharbha*, etc. also deal with the permanent emotional sentiment or *sthāyī-rasa*. The teachers of music like Nārada, Śāraṅgdeva, Somanāth, Dāmodara, Ahobala and others have discussed elaborately with this subject in their respective works.

Bharata has elaborately dealt with the theory of sentiment in the sixth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśātra*. He poses the question, as to what is meant by *rasa*. *Rasa* is said to be an *experience* (*anubhūti*). As a man is pleased with a good taste of rice and different kinds of delicious vegetables, so we get experience of the permanent emotional sentiment, originated from different kinds of mental moods, gestures and postures.[1] Bharata says that *rasa* and *bhāva* are coexis-

1 "Atrāha—rasa īti kaḥ padārthaḥ/ ucyate—āsvādyatvāt/katha-

tent, one cannot evolve without the other, as a tree comes out from a seed, and again it bears fruits with seeds. But *rasa* is a primary one, and *bhāva* rests on it.

Dr. S. K. De has said in connection with the definition or interpretation, as advanced by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* that "by its ambiguity taxed the ingenuity of his followers and led to a great deal of controversy regarding its true interpretation ; and as such writer tried to explain it in his own way, it gave rise to a number of theories on *rasa*. There are four such theories associated with the names of Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta ; but Jagannātha (*Rasagaṅgādhara*, p. 28) speaks of eight different interpretations".[1] Dr. De is of opinion that Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa appears to have been one of the earliest formulators of such an explanation. But his work is unfortunately lost, and it is said that Abhinavagupta's *Abhinavabhāratī* (commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*) deals with most of Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa's theories or views on *rasa*. Most of the scholars are of opinion that while explaining Bharata's theory of *rasa*, Lollaṭa "took the *vibhāva* as the direct cause (*kāraṇa*) of *rasa* which, therefore, is an effect (*anukārya* or *utpādya*), and the term *niṣpatti* of Bharata should be explained as *utpatti* or *puṣṭi*".[2]

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māsvādyate rasaḥ/yathā hi nānā-vyañjana-saṁskṛtamannaṃ bhuñjānā rasānāsvādynti sumanasaḥ puruṣā harṣadīṁścadhigacchani tathā nānā-bhāvābhinya-vyañcitān vāgāṅgasattvopetān sthāyibhāvānāsvādayanti sumanasaḥ prekṣakāḥ harṣādīṁscadhigacchanti/tasmānnātyarasā ityabhivyākhyātāḥ//"—*Nātyaśāstra*, VI. 32 (Baroda edition).

Abhinavagupta has said in the *Abhinavabharati*: "Etaduktaṃ bhavati—na rasanāvyāpāra āsvādanaṃ/api tu mānasa eva". In fact, the aesthetic sentiments are felt or realized through the medium of mind.

1 Dr. De: *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. II (1960), p. 117.

2 Ibid., p. 118.

Mammaṭa and his followers have made Lollaṭa's interpretation of *rasa* more clear by saying that the permanent mood or *sthāyin* is directly connected (*mukhyatayā vṛttyā*= *sākṣāt sambandhena*) with the hero, and, therefore, the *rasa* resides in the hero. But there is an objection to this theory.[1] Śaṅkuka rejects the interpretation of the *utpatti-vādīns*, who are said to follow, in their peculiar theory, the Mīmāṁsā school of philosophers. "Śaṅkuka, on the other hand, thinks that the *rasa* is not *produced* as an effect, but inferred by the spectator, and the inferred feeling is relished by him as *rasa*. ...The realization of *rasa*, therefore, is a process of logical inference, and the *niṣpatti* of Bharata's *sūtra* is explained as *anumiti*, *vibhāvas* standing to *rasa* in the relation of *anumāpaka* or *gamaka* to *anumāpya* or *gamya*".[2] Dr. De says that *vibhāvas*, therefore, do not constitute either the efficient cause (*kāraka-hetu*) or the logical cause (*jñānaka-hetu*) of *rasa*, as held respectively by Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka maintains that *rasa* is enjoyed in connection with the *vibhāvas* through the relation of the enjoyer (*bhoktā*) and the enjoyed (*bhojya*). So *abhidhā*, *bhāvakatva* and *bhojakatva*, these three different functions are necessary for the realization of the aesthetic sentiment or *rasa*. The word, *bhāvakatva* or *rasa-bhāvanā* is derived from Bharata's general definition of *bhāva*. According to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, *rasa* consists in the *sthāyī-bhāva* or permanent mood.[3]

Dr. De estimates that the theory of *rasa*, as advanced by Lollaṭa, is akin to that of the Mīmāṁsā philosophy, the

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1 See the detailed discussion in Dr. De's *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. II (1960), pp. 118-119.

2 Ibid., pp. 119-120.

3 Cf. detailed description in Dr. De's *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. II (1960), pp. 123-127.

rasa-theory, as advanced by Śaṅkuka, is akin to that of the Nyāya, and the *rasa*-theory, as advanced by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, is akin to that of the Sāṅkhya philosophy to some extent. In fact, Abhinavagupta is of opinion that the realization (*pratīti*) of *rasa* results from its manifestation (*abhivyakti*) by the power of suggestion, and consists of a state of relish, known as *rasanā*, *āsvāda* or *carvanā*. "What is manifested, is not the *rasa* itself, but its relish ; not the mood itself, but its reflection in the form of a subjective condition of aesthetic enjoyment in the reader. This state or relish partakes no doubt, of the nature of cognition...".[1] This *rasa*-theory is advanced or determined generally by the *dhvani*-school. The *dhvani*-school adopts "the moods and feelings as an element of the unexpressed, and tries to harmonize the idea of *rasa* with the theory of *dhvani* or suggestion".[2] Dr. De is of opinion that the elaboration of the *rasa*-theory, however, by this school (*dhvani*-school) in the direct tradition of Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, is associated by Mammaṭa and others with the name of Abhinavagupta. All the later writers of the *dhvani*-school, from Dhanañjaya to Jagannātha, have accepted, more or less, this theory of *rasa*.

Bharata has given the elaborate description of eight kinds of emotional sentiment or *rasa*, and they are: *śṛṅgāra*, *hāsya*, *karuṇa*, *raudra*, *veera*, *bhayānaka*, *vibhatsa* and *adbhuta* (creative, laughing, lamenting, attacking, valorous, fearful or rapid expanding, ridiculous and surprising sentiments). Bharata has mentioned them as,

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1 Ibid. pp. 131-132.

2 This view is generally maintained by Ānandavardhana and his followers. But it should be remembered that there is some difference in the general theoretical positions of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta.

Sṛṅgāra-hāsya-karuṇa-raudra-vīra-bhayānakāḥ/
Vibhatsādbhuta-saṁjñau cetyaṣṭau nāṭye rasāḥ smṛtāḥ//
—*Nāṭyaśāstra*, VI. 15

Viśvanāth and other Ālaṁkarikas have admitted the motherly feeling or 'tenderness' (*vātsalya* or *vātsala*) as the ninth emotional sentiment. But the modern authors on *Alaṁkāraśāstra* include 'calmness' (*śānta*) as the ninth *rasa*. From the eight kinds of sentiment (*rasa*), eight emotional moods (*bhāvas*) originate, and they are: affection, laughter, grief, anger, ridicule, fear, hatred and surprise (*rati, hāsa, śoka, krodha, upahāsa, bhaya, jugupsā* and *vismaya*). Bharata has stated them as,

Ratir-hāsaśca śokaśca krodhotsāhau bhayaṃ tathā/,
Jugupsā-vismayaśceti sthāyī-bhāvāḥ prakīrtitāḥ//
—*Nāṭyaśāstra*, VI. 17.

It is a fact that Bharata has not mentioned about the *śānta-rasa*, which develops from *nirveda* or *śama*, in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and instead of it he has described the *ādirasa*, *śṛṅgāra* (but in the Kāvyamālā edition, of Bombay, of the NS., the ninth *rasa*, *śānta* has been mentioned). The *śānta-rasa* brings tranquillity of mind. The *sāttvika-bhāvas* of the *śānta-rasa* are horripilation, perspiration, cool tears and change of voice. But according to Bhaṭṭa Prabhākara, *śānta-rasa* can prevail only in the *śrāvya-kāvyas*, and not in the dramatic literature or *nāṭaka*. "But later rhetoricians like Jagannātha ably refute this view and believe that even the scenic art can, without prejudice, admit the ninth *rasa*. In actual practice also, the view of Jagannātha finds support in plays like the *Bhatṛhari-nirveda*".

The very few canonists like Viśvanātha believe in the existence of the tenth *rasa*, *vātsalya* or affectionate senti-

ment, "which subsists between the parent and child, *guru* and his pupil, and all such individuals related *inter se* as persons in *loco parentis et fili*, like the ruler and the ruled. But all such feelings are subject of *bhāvadhvani*, and for the reasons detailed above they are incompetent to prevail as durable states and develop into independent *rasas*. Even Paṇḍitrāja Jagannātha, the most modern and rationalist among the classical critic canonists does not feel inclined to go far beyond the dictum of Bharata in recognising eight *rasas* and to favour the loose opinions of poeticians like Rudratā and Bhojadeva".[1]

Bharata and the post-Bharata poetics regard the sex-emotional feeling (*śṛṅgāra*) as the primary one. It is, in reality, the primary divine impulse of creation or creative urge and an outward expression of the subconscious or unconscious mind, which has been described by the authors of the Tantra and Yoga philosophies as *kāmakalā* or *kuṇḍalinī*. The *kāmakalā* or *kuṇḍalinī* is no other than the unmanifested divine creative energy that lies latent in the bed of the basic centre of consciousness, known as the *mūlādhāra*. As it is in itself unmanifested, it is known as the coiling energy, and the Tantra philosophy has described it as a serpent that moves in a crooked way and thus symbolises the expression of dynamicity. The latent as well as the potent phases of the *kuṇḍalinī* is said to be the undivided Prakṛti, the undifferentiated consciousness. In Vedānta, the latent *kuṇḍalinī* may be compared with the *avyakta Īśvara*, whereas the potent one, as *vyakta Īśvara* or *Hiraṇyagarbha*, from which the manifold universe evolves. It is the 'hunger' (*tanhā*) as

1 Cf. Dr. Surendra Nāth Śāstrī: *The Laws and Practice of Sanskrit Drama* (Vārānasi, 1961), pp. 284-85.

the English philosopher, T. H. Green has said, and the *kāma* or *tapaḥ*, as mentioned by the Upaniṣad. It has been alligorically described in the Upaniṣad that Prajāpati, the Creator desired to be the 'many' and he manifested him as many or the manifold universe. The divine desire (*kāma* or *saṁkalpa*) of *Īśvara-Hiraṇyagarbha* was the product of the basic sentiment, *sṛṅgāra-rasa*. It is, therefore, absolutely different from the '*libido*' or narrow sexual impulse, as advocated by Dr. Freud. Drs. Adler and Jung have called it an 'energy of life' or a 'psychic energy' that forms the background of all kinds of desire and impulse of all living beings. Bergson calls it as *élan vital*, which may be compared with the dynamic phase of the cosmic energy or Prakṛti. The Ālaṁkārikas have divided the *śṛṅgāra-rasa* into two, and they are *vipralambha* and *sambhoga*.

Bharata has elaborately described about the emotional sentiments with their classifications in his monumental work, *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the 2nd centnry A.D. He has said that the original emotional sentiments (*rasas*) are four in number, and they are *śṛṅgāra*, *raudra*, *veera* and *vibhatsa*. From them originated successively *hāsya*, *karuṇa*, *adbhuta* and *bhayānaka*.[1] All these sentiments are possessed of colours (*varṇa*) and presiding deities (*devatā*). The seers of music have imagined that everything in this world is animated with the life-force or energy. The authors of drama and Alaṁkāra have divinised the *rasas*, *bhāvas* and *chandas*. The authors of music have described the tones and tunes,—the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* as divine and living. Bharata has mentioned about the colour of *śṛṅgāra-rasa* as blue-black, that of *hāsya* as

1 Cf. *Nātyaśāstra* (Vārānasī ed.), VI. 39-41.

blue (*asita*), those of *raudra*, *veera*, *bhayānaka* and *vibhatsa* as white (*kapota*), red, yellow (*gaura*) and black respectively. The presiding deities of the *rasas*, *śṛṅgāra*, *hāsya*, *raudra*, *karuṇa*, *vibhatsa*, *bhayānaka*, *veera* and *adbhuta* have been conceived as Viṣṇu, Pramatha, Rudra, Yama, Mahākāla, Mahendra respectively (—Cf. NS., VI. 42-45).

The basic *jātis* (*jātirāgas*) used to be sung according to their respective emotional sentiments (*rasas*): "*jātayo rasa-saṁsrayāḥ*" (NS. 29. 16). Bharata has said that the tones of the *rāgas* should be produced, according to eight emotional sentiments, and the sentiments of the seven tones might be used in two different ways:

I. Yo yadā valavān yasmin svaro jāti-samāśrayāt/
Tat-prayukte rase gānaṃ kāryaṃ geye prayoktṛ-bhiḥ//
Madhyama-pañcama-bhuyiṣṭaṃ hāsya-sṛṅgārayor-bhavet/
Ṣadjarṣabha-prāyakṛtaṃ veera-raudrādbhuteṣu ca//
Gāndhāra-saptama-prāyaṃ karuṇe gānamiṣyate/
Tathā dhaivata-bhuyiṣṭhaṃ vībhatse sa-bhayānake//

—*Nātyaśāstra*, (Vārānasī ed.), 29. 12-14.

II. Hāsya-sṛṅgārayoḥ kāryau svarau madhyama-pañcamau/
Ṣadjarṣabhau ca kartvayau veera raudrād-bhuteṣvatha//
Gāndhāraśca niṣādaśca kartavyau karuṇe rase/
Dhaivataśca prayoktabyo vībhatse sa-bhayānake//

—Ibid, 29. 17-18

The former one has been mentioned regarding the dominant tone of the *rāgas*, whereas the latter one for ordinary tones

of the *rāgas*. In the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, Śāraṅgdeva has mentioned about the distinctive colours of the tones, which are produced according to the vibrations and pitches of the sounds of the tones. Śāraṅgdeva says,

> Padmābhaḥ piñjaraḥ svarṇa-varṇaḥ kunda-prabho'sitaḥ/
> Pītaḥ karvura ityayam.........//[1]

The commentator Siṁhabhūpāla has made it clear, when he has said ; "*padmābho rakta-varṇaḥ ṣaḍjaḥ, ṛṣabhastu piñjara īsat-pītavarṇaḥ, gāndhāraḥ svarṇa-varno'tipīta-varṇaḥ, madhyamaḥ kunda-varṇaḥ śubharaḥ, pañcamo'sīta kṛṣṇa-varṇaḥ, dhaivataḥ pīta-varṇaḥ, niṣādaḥ karvuro vicitra-varṇaḥ*".[2]

III

We know that the vibrations of the atoms produce electricity, sound, light, aesthetic sentiments and emotive feelings, etc. As light and sound can be perceived and felt, so also the colours, sentiments and emotive feelings. Similarly attempts for determining the colour-theory of the musical tones were made in the West. Specially from the middle of the 18th to the middle of the 19th century A.D., the seven specific colours of the seven musical tones were made clear. Besides Louis Bertrans Castel's attempt, we find that George Field (1787-1854) appropriately determined the respective colours of the seven (European) tones. In 1816, Field first published his *Chromatics* or the Analogy, Harmony and Philosophy of Colours. In working

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1 The *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (Adyar ed.), Vol. I (1943), p. 96.

2 Vide the Appendix attached to this chapter.

out his analogy with music, he associated the tone C with blue, E with red, and G with yellow. The Diatonic Scale thus became:

C = blue	G = yellow
D = purple	A = yellow-green
E = red	B = green
F = orange	C = blue.

But Prof. A. B. Klein said that this determination of Prof. Field was not correct for his inadequate knowledge of physics and chemistry. Yet, in spite of his shortcomings, Field must be given credit for some very original theories. Afterwards F. O. Maçdonald adopted the Newtonian scale, and published his thesis on *Sound and Colour*, in which he proved the colours of the seven tones as,

C = red	
D = orange	G = blue
E = yellow	A = indigo
F = green	B = purple.

Prof. Klein said that Macdonald's estimation was not correct for want of proper mathematical value. But after Macdonald, Sir William Barnett, the Science Master at the London International College made a much more thorough investigation of the vibration theory of colour harmony. He found that the succession of colours in the spectrum was red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo and violet, and likewise, the succession of the musical tones in the scale was C, D, E, F, G, A, B.

After Barnett, Edward Lacy Garbett, F. J. Hughes and others made investigation upon the colour theory. F. G. Hughes was a great-nephew of Erasmus Dārwin and a cousin of Chārls Dārwin. In 1883, he published the

thesis, *Harmonies of Tones and Colours*, and adopted the following Diatonic Scale;

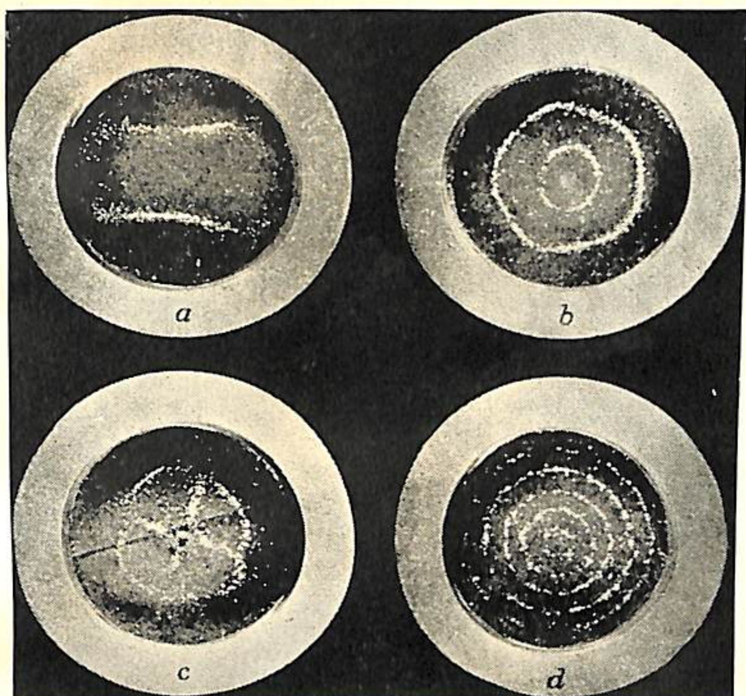
C = red	
D = orange	G = blue
E = yellow	A = violet
F = green	B = ultra-violet.

In 1881, Theodor Seemann published his thesis on *The Laws of Colour-Harmony*, based on Hay's paper on *Laws of Colour-Harmony*, and he found the colours of the tones of the Chromatic Scale as follows:

C = carmine	F = green-blue
C# = scarlet	G = blue
D = orange	G# = indigo
D# = yellow-orange	A = violet
E = yellow	A# = brown
F# = green	C = carmine.

Prof. Seemann remarked: "We thus see that the colour scale consists of colours and shades in their vibrational order as in music, ascending and descending by semi-tones". (vide also Mrs. Sargent Florence's devisement on the similar Chromatic Scale). But in Prof. Klein's opinion, Seemann's investigation was also not correct. After Prof. Seemann, Prof. Campbell, Prof. Wilkinson, Rood, Helmholtz, Ruskin, Church and others made investigations upon the colour-theory in relation to the musical tones, and new lights were thrown upon the subject.

Dr. P. S. Dubash has summarized the opinions of the Western savants, regarding the colour perception in the book, *Colour Psychology* in his own way. He has mentioned that Mrs. Christian Ladd Franklin forwarded his theory that the eyes are the medium of colour vision, and



Vibrations of sound in sand.

in their act of vision some photo-chemical actions take place. Eyes contain two kinds of photo-chemical substances. "One of these is decomposed by all kinds of light, and by their action of decomposition on the nervous organs of the retina gives the sensations of black-grey-white series; the other is decomposed in a particular way by red, green and blue lights, and gives these colours and their mixtures". Von Kries called this theory of Franklin as 'duplicity theory', and Marion Luckiesh favoured this theory and said, "this theory is based upon anatomical evidence of the existence of rods and cones in the retina. The former are assumed to be responsible for achromatic sensations and the latter for both achromatic and chromatic sensations. The rod action is supposed to be largely responsible for sensation of light at twilight illumination, and is in general move responsive to rays of shorter wave-length. The cones, however, are supposed to act only under stimuli of brightness, represented by the range above twilight illumination and not to be greatly increased in sensitiveness by dark adaptation".[1] But Dr. F. W. Edridge-Green differed, to some extent, from Luckiesh regarding this stimulation. According to his theory of visual purple, the decomposition of the visual purple by light chemically stimulates the ends of the cones, and a visual impulse is set up which is conveyed through the optic nerve fivers to the brain. The cones do not contain the visual purple, but the rods contain it between them, yet the visual purple affects the cones and not the rods. Edridge-Green maintained that the visual impulses

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1 Vide *Colour Psychology* (1944) published by New Book Company, Bombay.

of colour, caused by the different rays of light, differ in character just as the rays of light differ in wave-length.[1]

Now it can be asked as to how the colour of a thing or an object is perceived. Well it has been said by Swāmī Abhedānanda, in his book, *Doctrine of Karma* (1947; pp. 129-30): "You see a beautiful colour in a flower. If you analyse it and study carefully, physiology will tell you that you do not see any colour there. There is no colour. There is some kind of vibration of ether. It is a play of light, and light is nothing but vibration. But an ignorant person says, 'I see it, here it is, how can I deny it?' It is true that he cannot deny it. But what he sees and feels is not just exactly what it is in reality. There is a certain kind of vibration which comes from the flower and produces a kind of inverted image on our retina. And that image even we do not see, but that image produces a molecular change in the optic nerve and in the cortex of the brain at the back of our head, and then it is translated into feeling or sensation. Then we try to trace the cause of that sensation, and by the law of causation we see it is there. That flower has caused this sensation, and we call it red or yellow or whatever colour you may call it. The colour could not exist if you did not have the optic nerve, the retina and the brain". Now, from the phenomenal viewpoint, colour and other sense objects have existential and conditional values, and, therefore, colour is pragmatically seen and felt. The colour, as produced by the vibrations of the sound-units of the *rāgas*, is, therefore, possessed of practical value. In music, colours are the medium for the

1 Vide—Dr. Dubash: *Colour Psychology* (1944), p. 6.

appreciation of distinctive tonal forms of the *rāgas*, and so they are important from the psychological viewpoint. They may be the product of the vibrations of the light of the sun, but yet they produce some sensations of tones and tunes in the brain of the artists as well as of the audiences.

But there are differences in opinion regarding primary colours. Some Western scientists hold that primary colours are red, green and violet, because, they say, the spectroscopy cannot break up green into blue, and yellow and violet into blue and red. Some again differ from it. In the Ṛgveda, we find red, white and black colours have been mentioned as the primary ones: "*lohita-śukla-kṛṣṇāṃ*" ('लोहित-शुक्ल-कृष्णाम्'), and from the mixture of these three, other colours were made. But the scientists of the modern time differ somewhat from the names of the primary colours as mentioned in the Veda. Regarding the perception of colours, George E. Thorp said that musical tones and their respective colours are coalescent *i.e.* "they are produced simultaneously by the same agent, they are inseparable and also have equal prominence. Therefore colour audition is not the mere association of the idea of colour with tone, but an actual sensation". "After studying for months," he further said in his paper, published in the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, "I first noticed that it was the slight movements of the base of the tongue, when singing the scale which produced these changes in quality, colour, and form of the tones. Moreover certain movements of the tongue had the effect of projecting the tones from the mouth, while others seemed to detain them in the throat and impart to them a peculiar throaty quality. In singing words, the tongue moved from base to lip, and on this account the same words sometimes had several colours, qualities and forms. Thus in 'holy' the

'ho' used to be hollow in sound and dark brown in colour; when the tone is more intense, the colour is red. The law governing change of colour I have observed to be the same as far change in quality, viz the change depends upon the number, order, and relative loudness of the upper partials in the tone".[1] Mr. Thorp made an experiment of this theory on the 20 blind men, and found the following colours, associated with the sound of musical notes: C-blue, D—navy blue, E—bright yellow, F—brown, G—green, A—white and B—black. "The brightness of musical notes", he says, "was altered according as it was played in a higher or lower octave; but each note preserved its own colour, E and F sharp giving rise always to a yellow photism".[2]

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1 Cf. *Colour Psychology*, pp. 128-129. Cf. also Dr. Miller: *The Science of Musical Sounds* (New York, 1922), pp. 118-120.

2 Sir James Jeans also admitted the emotional qualities of the scales, modes and notes of music, while discussing about the problem of *Key Characteristics*, in connection with harmony and discord. Regarding it, he discussed the views of Plato and Helmholtz, and said that the "power of subjective imagination seems to be very strong. Some hearers even claim to find emotional qualities in individual notes—here is a list from Curwen's *Standard Course of Lessons and Exercises in the Tonic Sol-fa Mathod* (1872):

Do (key-note)—strong, firm.
Re—rousing, hopeful.
Mi—steady, calm.
Fa—desolate, awe-inspiring.
So—grand, bright.
La—sad, weeping.
Ti—piercing, sensitive.

We cannot but be reminded of the Beetheven enthusiast who claimed that a single chord, nay even a single semiquaver, of his favourite master contained more emotional quality than all the music of Bach added together".—Cf. *Science and Music* (7th impression, 1953), pp. 184.

Dr. Dubash has given some genuine illustrations of the effect of colour perceptions in his book, *Colour Psychology*, and have come to some decisive indicative conclusions. He says that (a) the white colour has no such perceptible vibrations, and, therefore, is ineffective; (b) yellow is ineffective and is not pleasant; (c) black is unpleasant because of too much effectiveness; (d) there is an audible difference of tone and pitch in colours; (e) red is the most pleasant to the ears though some consider green and even black as most pleasant. The colour sense of the musical tones can be known as the psychic or sixth sense, and so it should be regarded as different from gross physical sense to some extent. It may be called as an intuitive perception of the colour.[1]

Again, Prof. A. B. Klein carefully dealt with the different problems of colour-music and coloured light in his illuminating book, *Coloured Light: An Art Medium*, published second time in London in 1937. In this book, he forwarded that as arts are no other than languages for conveying ideas, so one invidual wishes to make another partake of his experience, and the struggle to find the integral *word* to embody the *idea* is the essence of the artistic spirit. The special art-language have, therefore, evolved in response to the need for man to convey to his fellow creatures his perception and experience of certain relations of order in the universe as perceived and experienced by him under the limitations of time and space. "The colour-musician", said Prof. Klein, "will be concerned with ideas which arise from the relation between the physical world revealed by light, the physiological structure of the visual organ, and the imaginative spirit of Man. These ideas are ideas of order, of balance, of harmony, in their relation to visual experience".

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1 Vide pp. 138-145.

Prof. Klein's research and labour have created a new sensation in the fields of sound and light, though he followed his great predecessors, who worked hard in the same field in the past and the present. Prof. Klein informed us that Louis Bertrand Castel was probably the first to imagine the existence of an independent art of colour-music. Now the word 'colour-music' connotes the idea of light-music, which means the sound-vibrations correspond the light-vibrations that have emotive value, and cause emotions in the mind of sensible creatures. In Castel's opinion, at every period, light has been compared to sound. Such is also the opinion of Rev. H. R. Haweis. Rev. Haweis maintained in his *Music and Morals* that colour-art, exactly analogous to the sound-art of music, is possible, and is amongst the arts which have to be traversed in the future, as sculpture, architecture, painting and music have been in the past. In the middle of the 19th century, A. Wallace Rimington discovered his theory of colour-organ and proved that sound-music and light-music might be simultaneously performed to the mutual enhancement of their respective emotional effects. After him Louis Favre was also a pioneer in the field of colour-music. He also subscribed his opinion that music occurs in time and not in space, and that a colour-music could either take place in space as in the case of juxtaposed or moving colours, or in time, as in the case of a changing coloured light, filling the visual field. He thought that colour-music likely to develop first of all on the lines of the latter one.

During 1900 A.D., E. G. Lind made fresh research on the subject, and found that colours of sound (colours emitted from sound) could distinctly be visible from the human voice. From his observation of seven spectrum colours and

seven notes in the diatonic scale, the following comparative values of sounds and colours were found:

Vibrations of Sound				*Vibrations of Light*
C — 259	...	...	Red	— 476 billions
D — 289	...	...	Orange	— 511 ,,
E — 322	...	...	Yellow	— 546 ,,
F — 343	...	...	Green	— 588 ,,
G — 385	...	...	Blue	— 630 ,,
A — 427	...	...	Indigo	— 665 ,,
B — 483	...	...	Violet	— 721 ,,

Now the human eyes are sensitive to vibrations of very great frequency ; "but the range of rapidity of vibrations between the red and the violet is only in the proportion of about two to one ; that is to say, the vibrations which produce violet light are a *little* more than twice as numerous as those which give the sensation of red light. For otherwise is it with the ear which can hear regular vibrations as low as thirty-eight a second—the period of the lowest audible musical note (i.e. the lowest audible musical note has a frequency of some 16 vibrations per second)—and as high as 38,000 vibrations, which is about the pitch of the squeak of a bat. The proportion, it will be seen is 1,000 to 1 ; and that is a preliminary reason why it is difficult to attune colour to sound. It is perhaps also a reason why sound affects the senses more than colour".

With regard to direct translation of music into colour, Prof. Lind said: "The two arts, (colour and music) so far in harmony as we have shown, it might be assumed that what would please the ear in one should please the eye in another. If, then, a musical instrument could be constructed that when performed upon, coloured sound would be

produced, we might expect lively tunes to emit bright colours, and sad and minor tunes subdued and secondary colours, and pleasing and sympathetic sounds, colours of a like nature". After Prof. Lind, Thomas Wilfred Alexander Burnett Hector, M. Luckiesh, R. A. Houstown, Lewis Barnes, Leonard G. Taylor and others worked on the same field of experiment and research, and they came nearly to the same conclusion regarding the colour theory in relation to musical sound.

While discussing on 'past and present proposals', Prof. A. B. Klein said that the musicians have appropriated the word *colour* principally to describe the sensous charm of art of music. The musicians of the 19th century specially used the word *colour* to describe the transformation in effect, which results from the use of various combination of a given musical idea. The psychologists have carried out certain investigations "as a result of which the conclusion has been reached that colours unquestionably possess what is known as *emotive value*".

A band of scholars, artists and scientists also made research on the field of psychological effect of colour-music, based on the experiments on a polyphonic music. Prof. N. A. Wells was one of them, who made research specially on the *effective value* of colours, which showed "a remarkable agreement, in a large number of subjects, as to the moods awakened by the simple pure colours of the spectrum and purple". Afterwards, Smith, Wasburn, Crawford and Dr. C. S. Myers developed this method, after employing divisions of perception type, equally applicable to colour appreciation. Prof. Klein ably gave a historical review of the past masters, who let their solid opinions, regarding the value of the problem of colour of the musical sounds.

From his survey it is known that Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), Leonardi da Vinci (1452-1519 A.D.), Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1527), Lonis Bertrand Castle (1688-1757), Robert Warving Dārwin, Dr. Thomas Young, Goethe (1749-1832), Hermann von Helmholtz (1821-1894),, John Ruskin (1819-1900) and others admitted that musical sounds carry in them the emotive value that inspires and animates men. The Munsell Colour System, Typor System of Colour-Harmony, Tudor-Hart System of Sound and Colour have also added value to the discovery of colour-music.

The emotional sentiments and moods are the means through which men and women, irrespective of caste, creed and colour, appreciate and enjoy music. The Indian Poetics are of opinion that without emotion, music is barren and lifeless. So the authors on music, ancient and mediaeval, have conceived of colours of the tones, which have also been approved by the scientists and psychologists of both the East and the West. Śāraṅgdeva has described the colours of the tones, together with their presiding deities, which are no other than the symbols or signs of the respective tones. The *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* has described these colours and deities as follows:

Notes	*ṣaḍja*	*ṛṣabha*	*gāndhāra*	*madhyama*	*pañcama*	*dhaivata*	*niṣāda*
Colours	padmābha	piñjara	svarṇa	kunda-prabha	asita	pīta	karvura
Deities	Agni	Brahmā	Sarasvatī	Śarva	Śrīśa	Gaṇa	Iśvara

Like Bharata, Śāraṅgdeva has mentioned that the notes, *ṣaḍja* and *ṛṣabha* should be sung in *veera-rasa*, the note, *dhaivata* in *vibhatsa* and *bhayānaka rasas*, the notes,

gāndhāra and *niṣāda* in *karuṇa-rasa*, and the notes, *pañcama* and *madhyama* in *hāsya-rasa*. The tones and tunes or melodies (*svaras* and *rāgas*) have also been depicted as living forces and deified as gods and goddesses.

IV

The latter authors of music have classified *rāgas* into three classes and they are masculine, feminine and neuter. They have recognized the *rāga-bhairava* as the foremost *rāga*: '*bhairavaḥ ādi-rāgaḥ*'. Most of the authors are of opinion that the *rāga-bhairava* is possessed of three main emotional sentiments, *śṛṅgāra*, *karuṇa* and *bhayānaka*. It has already been said that Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* fame considers *śṛṅgāra* as the divine basic sentiment (*ādi-rasa*). It is the prime creative urge (*kāma* or desire), by the help of which the indeterminate Brahman (*nirguṇa* Brahman) appears as the determinate one (*saguṇa* Brahman). The eternal undivided One manifests as the manifold appearance: '*sa tapo'tapyata, eko'haṃ vahusyāṃ prajāyeya*'. The Vaiṣṇava philosophers and the Ālaṁkārikas also consider *śṛṅgāra* as the best possible means to enjoy the celestial love dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The mystic poet Jayadeva (12th century A.D.) describes Rādhā as the embodiment of *śṛṅgāra*: '*śṛṅgāraḥ sakhi mūrtimāniva madhau mugdho hariḥ krīḍati*' (1,48). If we analyse the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva we find that no single statement shows the poet's desire to have union with Kṛṣṇa, as Rādhā had, and he only sings in praise of love dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The same attitude is found in Chaṇḍidāsa, Vidyāpati and other Vaiṣṇava mystic poets and savants.

According to the philosophical-cum-theological works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, Rādhā is nothing but the transfi-

guration of the infinite potency of Love, contained in the very nature of Kṛṣṇa. In fact, "the divine love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa has been conceived anthropomorphically, through the analogies of human love" says Dr. Saśibhūṣaṇ Dāsgupta. Further he has said: "Human love has been analysed psychologically into all its varieties and niceties to the minutest details, and it has been found on analysis that divine love can be expressed only through the analogy of the most intense and the most romantic and unconventional love that exists between a man and a woman, who become bound together by the ideal of love for love's sake". This love or divine love is the expression of the basic sentiment *śṛṅgāra* or creative urge. The stone figures of *naṭas* and *naṭīs* (male and female dancers), depicted on the walls of the temples of Orissā, represent the expression of the *śṛṅgāra-rasa*. Those nude figures may appear ordinarily obscene and objectionable to the common observers, but they appear divine from the artistic and aesthetic viewpoints. The *śṛṅgāra-rasa* that saturates the *rāga-bhairava*, brings fixity of mind, serenity, tranquility, concentration and meditation, renunciation or *nirveda* unto the artists and the lovers of music. The latter Ālaṁkārikas consider *śānta*, instead of *śṛṅgāra*, as the basic sentiment. Regarding the sentiment *śānta*, Lochana has said: "*mokṣaphalatvena cāyaṃ parama-puruṣārthaniṣṭhatvāt sarva-rasebhyaḥ pradhānatamaḥ*". Following Lochana, Abhinavagupta has also said in the *Abhinavabhāratī*: "*tasmādasti śānto rasaḥ* * * / *tatra sarva-rasānāṃ śāntaprāya evāsvādo na vaiṣayebhyo viparivṛttya*/ *tanmukhyatālābhāt kevalaṃ vāsanāntaropahita ityasya sarva-prakṛtitvābhidhānāya pūrvamabhidhānaṃ*//

Some say that the *bhayānaka-rasa* that saturates the *rāga-bhairava* or that is generated from *bhairava*, creates the

mental attitudes of terror and fear. But that is not the real fact. The *bhayānaka-rasa* that permeates *bhairava*, brings the attitudes of reverence (*śraddhā*) and divine submission (*prapatti*) to God, which help the *Śādhaka* to attain perfect detachment (*nirveda*) from the deceitful worldly desires. Such is also the function of the *karuṇa-rasa*, which is generated from the total tonal manifestation of the *rāga-bhairava*. It does not bring the attitudes of melancholy, grief or sorrow, despair and dissapointment, but rather creates the mental attitudes of calmness and detachment. The *rāga-bhairava* has been called as the melody-type of the confluence of night and day (*sandhiprakāśa-rāga*), because it brings new life, vigour and energy to all the animate objects of the world. It manifests itself before the sunrise, and welcomes the rising golden sun, the force-centre of the gigantic universe. During this time, the whole atmosphere of the Nature remains calm and tranquil, with a complete balance of breathing of the living beings. The seers of music saw in their vision a harmony between the tonal manifestation of the *rāga-bhairava* and the serene atmosphere of the morning. The *śṛṅgāra* or *śānta rasa* that predominates over the whole atmosphere of the morning as well as of the manifestation of the *rāga-bhairava*, helps men to enjoy both outward and inward peace and tranquility which are permanent. The psychological aspect of music is concerned with these aesthetic and contemplative things, which make music dynamic and divine.

APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER XIV

I

The texts from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (6th and 7th chapters) and the *Abhinavabhāratī* about the aesthetic sentiments and emotional contents (*rasas* and *bhāvas*):

॥ **नाट्यशास्त्रः** (*6th chapter*) :

(१) शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणरौद्रवीरभयानकाः ।
वीभत्साद्भुतसंज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः ॥१५॥

* * *

रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च क्रोधोत्साहौ भयं तथा ।
जुगुप्सा विस्मयश्चेति स्थायिभावाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥१७॥
निर्वेदग्लानिशङ्काख्यास्तथासूया मदः श्रमाः ।
आलस्यं चैव दैन्यं च चिन्ता मोहः स्मृतिर्धृतिः ॥१८॥
व्रीडा चपलता हर्ष आवेगो जडता तथा ।
गर्वो विषाद औत्सुक्यं निद्रापस्मार एव च ॥१९॥
सुप्तं विवोधोऽमर्षश्चाप्यवहित्थमथोग्रता ।
मतिर्व्याधिस्तथोन्मादस्तथा मरणमेव च ॥२०॥
त्रासश्चैव वितर्कश्च विज्ञेया व्यभिचारिणः ।
त्रयस्त्रिंशदमी भावाः समाख्यातास्तु नामतः ॥२१॥

* * *

(२) न हि रसादृते कश्चिदप्यर्थः प्रवर्तते ।
तत्र विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः ॥३२॥

॥ **अभिनवभारती** ॥

अत्र भट्टलोल्लटप्रभृतयस्तावदेवं व्याचख्युः—विभावादिभिः संयोगोऽर्थात् स्थायिनस्ततो रसनिष्पत्तिः । तत्र विभावश्चित्तवृत्तेः स्थाय्यात्मिकाया उत्पत्तौ कारणम् । अनुभावाश्च न रसजन्या अत्र विवक्षिताः । तेषां रसकारणत्वेन

गणनार्हत्वात् । अपि तु भावानामेव(ते)येऽनुभावाः व्यभिचारिणश्च चित्त-वृत्त्यात्मकत्वात् यद्यपि न सहभाविनः स्थायिना तथापि वासनात्मनेह तस्य विवक्षिताः । दृष्टान्तेऽपि व्यञ्जनादिमध्ये कस्यचिद्वासनात्मकता स्थायिवत् । अन्यस्योद्भूतता व्यभिचारिवत् । तेन स्थाय्येव विभावानुभावाजिभिरूपचितो रसः । स्थायी भवत्वनुपचितः । स चोभयोरपि । [मुख्यया वृत्त्या रामादौ] अनुकार्येऽन्युकर्तर्यपि चानुसन्धानबलात्—इति ।

* * *

भट्टनायकस्त्वाह—रसो न प्रतीयते । नोत्पद्यते । नाभिव्यज्यते । स्वगतत्वेन हि प्रतीतौ करुणे दुःखित्वं स्यात् । न च सा प्रतीतिर्युक्ता । * *

॥ **नाट्यशास्त्रः** ॥ (Barodā edition):

को दृष्टान्तः । अत्राह—यथा नानाव्यञ्जनौषधिद्रव्यसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः, तथा नानाभावोपगमाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः । * * अत्राह—रस इति कः पदार्थः । उच्यते—आस्वाद्यत्वात् । कथमास्वाद्यते रसः । यथा हि नानाव्यञ्जन-संस्कृतमन्नं भुञ्जाना रसानास्वादयन्ति सुमनसः पुरुषा हर्षादींश्चाधिगच्छन्ति तथा नानाभावाभिनयव्यञ्जितान् वागङ्गसत्त्वोपेतान् स्थायिभावानास्वादयन्ति सुमनसः प्रेक्षकाः हर्षादींश्चाधिगच्छन्ति ।

* * *

न भावहीनोऽस्ति रसो न भावो रसवर्जितः ।
परस्परकृता सिद्धिस्तयोरभिनये भवेत् ॥३६॥
व्यञ्जनौषधिसंयोगो यथाऽन्नं स्वादुतां नयेत् ।
एवं भावा रसाश्चैव भावयन्ति परस्परम् ॥३७॥
यथा बीजाद्भवेद्वृक्षो वृक्षात् पुष्पं फलं यथा ।
तथा मूलं रसाः सर्वे तेभ्यो भावा व्यवस्थिता ॥३८॥

* * *

शृङ्गाराद्धि भवेद्धास्यो रौद्राच्च करुणो रसः ।
वीराच्चैवाद्भुतोत्पत्तिर्बीभत्साच्च भयानकः ॥३९॥
शृङ्गारानुकृतिर्या तु स हास्यस्तु प्रकीर्तितः ।

रौद्रस्यैव च यत्कर्म स ज्ञेयः करुणो रसः ॥४०॥
वीरस्यापि च यत्कर्म सोऽद्भुतः परिकीर्तितः ।
वीभत्सदर्शनं यच्च ज्ञेयः स तु भयानकः ॥४१॥

(१) **श्रृङ्गारः**। तत्र श्रृङ्गारो नाम रतिस्थायिभावप्रभवः। उज्ज्वलवेषात्मकः। यत्किञ्चिल्लोके शुचि मेध्यमुज्ज्वलं दर्शनीयं वा तच्छृङ्गारेणोपमीयते। यस्तावदुज्ज्वलवेषः स श्रृङ्गारवानित्युच्यते। * * एवमेष आचारसिद्धो हृद्यौज्ज्वलवेषात्मकत्वाच्छृङ्गारो रसः। स च स्त्रीपुरुषहेतुक उत्तमयुवप्रकृतिः। * *

करुणस्तु शापक्लेशविनिपतितेष्टजनविभवनाशवधबन्धसमुत्थो निरपेक्षभावः। औत्सुक्यचिन्तासमुत्थः सापेक्षभावो विप्रलम्भकृतः। एवमन्यः करुणोऽन्यश्च विप्रलम्भ इति। एवमेष सर्वभावसंयुक्तः श्रृङ्गारो भवति।

॥ अभिनवभारती ॥

* * अतएव यत्कैश्चिदचोद्यत—रतेराधारभेदेन भेदात्कथमेको रस इति। तदनभिज्ञतया। एकैव ह्यसौ तावती रतिः। यत्रान्योन्यसंविदा एकवियोगो न भवति। अत एवोत्तमयुवप्रकृतिः। उत्तमश्चोत्तमा चोत्तमौ। एवं युवानौ। तत्रोत्तमयुवशब्देन तत्संविदुच्यते। न तु कायः। चैतन्यस्यैव हि परमार्थत उत्तमयुवत्वं विशेषः। * * सा संविदास्वादयोग्यत्वात् श्रृङ्गाररसोभवतीति।

(२) **हास्यः**। अथ हास्यो नाम हासस्थायिभावात्मकः। स च विकृतपरवेषालङ्कारधाष्ट्यलौल्यकुहकासत्प्रलापव्यङ्गदर्शनदोषोदाहरणादिभिर्विभावैरुत्पद्यते। * * द्विविधश्चायमात्मस्थः परस्थश्च। यदा स्वयं हसति तदाऽत्मस्थः। यदा तु परं हासयति तदा परस्थः।

(३) **करुणः**। अथ करुणो नाम शोकस्थायिभावप्रभवः। स च शापक्लेशविनिपतितेष्टजनविप्रयोगविभवनाशवधबन्धविद्रवोपघातव्यसनसंयोगादिभिर्विभावैः समुपजायते।

(४) **रौद्रः**। अथ रौद्रो नाम क्रोधस्थायिभावात्मको रक्षोदानवोद्धत-

मनुष्यप्रकृतिः संग्रामहेतुकः । स च क्रोधाधर्षणाधिक्षेपानृतवचनोपघातवाक्-पारुष्याभिद्रोहमात्सर्यादिभिर्विभावैरुत्पद्यते । * * भावाश्चास्यासम्मोहोत्-साहावेगामर्षचपलतौग्र्यगर्वस्वेदवेपथुरोमाञ्चगद्गदादयः । * *

(५) **वीरः।** अथ वीरो नामोत्तमप्रकृतिरुत्साहात्मकः । स चासंमोहाध्यवसायनसविनयबहुलपराक्रमशक्तिप्रतापप्रभावादिभिर्विभावैरुत्पद्यते । * * भावाश्चास्य धृतिमतिगर्वावेगौग्र्यामर्षस्मृतिरोमाञ्चादयः । * *

(६) **भयानकः।** अथ भयानको नाम भयस्थायिभावात्मकः । * * भावाश्चास्य स्तम्भस्वेदगद्गदरोमाञ्चवेपथुस्वरभेदवैवर्ण्यशङ्कामोहदैन्या-वेगचापलजडतात्रासापस्मारमरणादयः । * *

(७) **वीभत्सः।** अथ वीभत्सो नाम जुगुप्सास्थायिभावात्मकः । सा चाहृद्याप्रियाचोष्यानिष्टश्रवणदर्शनकीर्तनादिभिर्विभावैरुत्पद्यते । * * भावाश्चा-स्यापस्मारोद्वेगावेगमोहव्याधिमरणादयः । * *

(८) **अद्भुतः।** अथाद्भुतो नाम विस्मयस्थायिभावात्मकः । स च दिव्यजनदर्शनेप्सितमनोरथावाप्त्यभत्तमवनदेवकुलाभिगमनासम्भाव्यमानमाहेन्द्र-जालसाधनादिभिर्विभावैरुत्पद्यते । * * भावाश्चास्य स्तम्भाश्रुस्वेदगद्-गदरोमाञ्चावेगसम्भ्रमं जडताप्रलयादयः । * *

(९) [अथ शान्तो नाम शमस्थायिभावात्मको मोक्षप्रवर्तकः । स तु तत्त्वज्ञानवैराग्याशयशुद्ध्यादिभिर्विभावैः समुत्पद्यते । तस्य यमनियमाध्यात्म-ध्यानधारणोपासनसर्वभूतदयालिङ्गग्रहणादिभिरनुभावैरभिनयः प्रयोक्तव्यः । व्यभिचारिणश्चास्य निर्वेदास्मृतिधृतिसर्वाश्रमशौचस्तम्भरोमाञ्चादयः । * *]

॥ **अभिनवभारती** ॥

* * तस्मादस्ति शान्तो रसः। * * एवं ते नवैव रसाः। पुनर्थोपयोगित्वेन रञ्जनाधिक्येन वा इयतामेवोपदेश्यत्वात् । तेन रसान्तर-संभवेऽपि चार्षप्रसिद्ध्या सङ्ख्यानियम इति यदन्यैरुक्तं तत्प्रयुक्तम् । * *

It should be noted that the Vaiṣṇava Ālaṁkārikas have admitted nine or ten *rasas*, Bhojadeva, eleven, and some others, more than eleven *rasas*.

The line-drawings of the nine emotional sentiments (rasas), drawn by Ācārya Nandalāl Basu of Śāntiniketan.



1 Śṛṅgāra, 2 Hāsya, 3 Karuṇa, 4 Raudra, 5 Veera,
6 Bhayānaka, 7 Bibhatsa, 8 Adbhuta, 9 Śānta.



1 Śṛṅgāra, 2 Hāsya, 3 Karuṇa, 4 Raudra, 5 Veera, 6 Bhayānaka, 7 Bibhatsa, 8 Adbhuta, 9 Śānta.

II

॥ **नाट्यशास्त्रः** ॥ (*7th chapter*) :

* * अत्राह—भावा इति कस्मात्? किं भवन्तीति भावाः किं वा भावयन्तीति भावाः। उच्यते—वागङ्गसत्त्वोपेतान् काव्यार्थान् भावयन्तीति भावा इति।

॥ **अभिनवभारती** ॥

* * वयं तु ब्रूमः—भावशब्देन तावच्चित्तवृत्तिविशेषा एव विवक्षिताः। तथा च 'एकोनपञ्चाशता भावैः' इत्यादौ तानेवोपसंचारिभावरूपता संभवति। ये त्वेते ऋतुमाल्यादयो विभावा बाह्याश्च बाष्पप्रभृतयोऽनुभावा एकान्तजड-स्वभावाः तेन भावशब्दव्यपदेश्याः। * * ॥१॥

अथ विभाव इति कस्मात्। उच्यते—विभागे विज्ञानार्थः। विभावः कारणं निमित्तं हेतुरिति पर्यायाः। विभाव्यन्तेऽनेन वागङ्गसत्त्वाभिनया इत्यतो विभावः। यथा विभावितं विज्ञातमित्यनर्थान्तरम्। अत्र श्लोकः—

वहवोऽर्था विभाव्यन्ते वागङ्गाभिनयाश्रयाः।
अनेन यस्मात्तेनायं विभाव इति संज्ञितः ॥४॥

अथानुभाव इति कस्मात्। उच्यते—अनुभाव्यतेऽनेन वागङ्गसत्त्वकृतोऽभिनय इति। अत्र श्लोकः—

वागङ्गाभिनयेनेह यतस्त्वर्थोऽनुभाव्यते।
शाखाङ्गोपाङ्गसंयुक्तस्त्वनुभावस्ततः स्मृतः ॥५॥

* * *

तत्राष्टौ भावाः स्थायिनः। त्रयस्त्रिंशद्व्यभिचारिणः। अष्टौ सात्त्विका इति भेदाः। एवमेते काव्यरसाभिव्यक्तिहेतव एकोनपञ्चाशद्भावाः प्रत्यवगन्तव्याः।

N.B. Consult Dr. V. Rāghavan: *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa*, vol. I, pt. II (published by Karṇāṭaka Publishing House, Bombay), and specially the Chapter XVIII: *Bhoja's Conception of Rasa in the ŚṚ. Pra.*, pp. 450-451.

III

Regarding sentiment (*rasa*), colour (*varṇa*) and sacred *varṇavīja*, Śāraṅgdeva has said:

पद्माभः पिञ्जरः स्वर्णवर्णः कुन्दप्रभोऽसितः॥

पीतः कर्वूर इत्येषां * * ।

* * *

सरी वीरेऽद्भुते रौद्रे धो वीभत्से भयानके ।

कार्यौ गनी तु करुणे हास्यश्रृङ्गारयोर्मपौ ॥

—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकरः १।३। ४८-४६, ५६.

The specific colours (*varṇas*) of the sentiments, *śṛṁgāra*, etc. have been described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VI. 42-45 and the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*.

॥ **सिंहभूपाल** ॥

पद्माभो रक्तवर्णः षड्जः, ऋषभस्तु पिञ्जर ईषत्पीतवर्णः, गान्धारः स्वर्णवर्णोऽतिपीतवर्णः, मध्यमः कुन्दवर्णः शुभ्रः, पञ्चमोऽसितः कृष्णवर्णः, धैवतः पीतवर्णः निषादः कर्वूरो विचित्रवर्णः ॥ * * षड्जस्याग्निर्वह्निः, ऋषभस्य ब्रह्मा, गान्धारस्य चन्द्रः, मध्यमस्य विष्णुः, पञ्चमस्य नारदः, धैवत-निषादयौस्तुम्बुरुः। यदा स्वराणां वीजैः षड्जादयः स्वरा उपास्यन्ते तदा तेषामृषिदेवताच्छन्दांसि स्मर्तव्याणि, वर्णाश्च ध्येयाः। अतएव स्वराणां वीजान्युक्तानि मतङ्गेन। यथा—

वर्गाष्टकं तु संप्राप्य अकारादि यशान्तकम् ।

वर्णमालासमायुक्तमुद्धरत्स्वरसप्तकम् ॥

अष्टमस्य तृतीयं तु हरिवीजसमन्वितम् ।

आद्यं स्वरं स्वरज्ञस्तु उद्धरेत् सप्रयत्नतः ॥

सप्तमस्य द्वितीयं तु कामवीजसमन्वितम् !

उद्धरेत्तु स्वरं नित्यं सौरभेयं मनोहरम् ॥

द्वितीयस्य तृतीयं तु हरिवीजसमन्वितम् ।

समुद्धरेत्तृतीयं तं सरसं स्वरमुत्तमम् ॥
षष्ठस्यापि हि वर्गस्य अन्तिमं चादिसंयुतम् ।
अविनष्टं विजानीयान् मध्यमस्वरमुत्तमम् ॥
तकादि प्रथमोपेतं स्वं संविद्धि शोभनम् ।
व्योमसंख्यासमायुक्तमोष्ठस्थानसमुद्भवम् ॥
पञ्चमस्यापि वर्गस्य चतुर्थं चादिभूषितम् ।
कोदण्डद्वयसंभूतमुद्धरेत् स्वरमुत्तमम् ॥
अकारान्तान्तसंभिन्नं पञ्चमान्तं समुद्धरेत् ।
ब्रह्मस्थानसमुद्भुतं सुतारध्वनिसंयुतम् ॥
आगमस्थः स्वरोद्धार एवं तावत्प्रदर्शितः ।

॥ कल्लिनाथ ॥

प्रयोगसौकार्यर्थं तेषामाद्याक्षराण्युद्धृत्य संज्ञाऽन्तराण्याह—तेषां संज्ञा इति । सरिगादीनां मतङ्गाभिमत उद्धारक्रम उच्यते—अत्राकचटतपयशा अष्टौ वर्गाः । तत्राष्टमस्य तृतीयं हरिवीजयुक्तमाद्यस्वरमुद्धरेत् । हरिवीजमकारः सप्तमस्य द्वितीयं कामवीजयुक्तं द्वितीयस्वरमुद्धरेत् । कामवीजमिकारः । द्वितीयस्य तृतीयं हरिवीजयुक्तं तृतीय स्वरमुद्धरेत् । षष्ठस्य पञ्चममकारयुक्तं चतुर्थस्वरमुद्धरेत् । षष्ठस्य प्रथममकारयुक्तं पञ्चमस्वरमुद्धरेत् । पञ्चमस्य चतुर्थमकारयुक्तं षष्ठस्वरमुद्धरेत् । पञ्चमस्य पञ्चमं कामवीजयुक्तं सप्तस्वरमुद्धरेत् ।

These are the Tāntric interpretation of the musical tones. The process requires the spiritual practice or *sādhanā* with the help of the real spiritualised soul (*guru*). Besides, consult, in this connection, the theory of colour-vision as well as '*Thomas Young's Theory of Light and Colour-Vision*, as discussed in William McDougall's *An Outline of Psychology* (London, 1939) pp. 223—224, and *The Mind*, N.S. Vol. X.

IV

Now, let me take the privilege of quoting some portions of 'Relation between Tone and Colour Perception' from the chapter IX of the book: *Introduction to the Psychology of Music* (Longmans, 1946) by Prof. G. Révész (pp. 123-125), for which I owe my debt of gratitude to the learned author and also to the publisher. Prof. Révész has said:

"There are certain persons—at all events few in number—who automatically associate tones and tone qualities with distinct colours. Their identification of isolated notes is due to the primary acoustic impression, but to the *optical*, mnemonic, or intuitive image associated with it. Such a reciprocal relationship between tone and colour is known in psychology as colour (or coloured) hearing (Synaesthesia). By *colour hearing* we understand the *fixed permanent association of acoustic sensations with optical images*. In persons with pronounced colour hearing, certain tonal stimuli always create *involuntarily, regularly, and constantly* the same colour sensations (socalled chromatisms or photisms). These chromatisms or photisms can be divided into three classes, according to type: *perceptual*, as though the colours were actually seen; *conceptual*, when the colour is envisaged as an ideated sensation; and *mental*, when the colour only comes to mind, when only its name is suggested to the conscious mind. * * *

"The tests on synaesthetes have brought to light a large number of synaesthetic variants. There are persons with a very finely nuanced system of subjective colours for all the notes in the octave (including the enharmonic variants), as well as for all the major and minor modes, intervals, instruments, and vocables. In other synaesthesia is limited

to the notes (tone qualities) with enharmonic distinctions. Many synaesthetes construct the 'traids' and 'melodies' from individual colour elements. They 'see' a melody as tiny coloured dots in a dotted line like variegated glass beads on a string. Besides this analytical colour hearing, there is also a 'synthetic' type. In this latter the chords and melodies are not formed from the constituent elements; but each entity appears in a definite colour, or colour nuance. Musical works, as such, are 'dipped' as it were in one single colour—according to the key, for example. * * *

Brown with a deep, dark voice.
Lavender with a soft, melancholy voice.
Yellow with a shrill, high voice.
Red with a high, ringing voice.
Blue with a fairly colourless voice." * *

—Cf. pp. 125-127.

Cf. also Sir James Jeans: *Science and Music* (1953), and Dr. Dayton C. Miller; *The Science of Musical Sounds* (1922).

CHAPTER XVI

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MUSIC

The philosophy of fine arts like poetry, music and architecture, including painting and sculpture generally conveys the idea of theory of the beautiful as well as of the science of artistic creation and its nature, and this view was specially maintained by Hegel and the Hegelians. But "the works, where in the philosophy of art is discussed, are primarily concerned with the technique, and the philosophy is closely related to it". It is generally believed that the arts of poetry, music and architecture, painting and sculpture arouse an intense feeling and urge to experience and appreciate both the sensible and the supersensible objects, and though at first their representations are indirect in terms of the physical expressions, yet, at last, they directly appeal to the depth of experience or feeling, and create aesthetic joy and beauty.

Aesthetics (Gk. *aisthētikos*) is also a branch of philosophy, as it is absolutely concerned with the problem of emotional content, value and beauty. The philosophy of music, like many other high branches of knowledge, says Dr. William Pole, claims attention rather on intellectual than on utilitarian grounds. Moritz Hamptmann first tried to establish a philosophical theory of music in West. He published a book entitled, *Die Natur der Harmonik und der Metrik, zur Theorie der Musik*, in 1853, and built his theory entirely on transcendental metaphysics, borrowed chiefly from the system of Hegel. But as he dealt with only the abstract problem or truth of music, his theory was highly philosophical, and was not

easily appreciated by common mass of people. A few years later Hermann Helmholtz published his book, *The Doctrine of the Perception of Musical Sounds, considered as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music*, and tried to establish a relation between the boundaries of physical and physiological acoustics on the one side, and of musical science and aesthetics or philosophical structure of music on the other. Dr. Tyndall and Mr. Sedley Taylor also made considerable researches on the theory and science as advanced by Hermann Helmholtz. As regards the contributions, made by Helmholtz, Dr. Pole has said that philosophy of music "as established by the investigations of Helmholtz, implies not the bare enunciation and explanation of acoustical phenomena, but the general philosophical analysis of musical structure, to which the acoustical element is only introductory, and which really extends into a much wider domain".[1]

Well has it been said by C. E. M. Joad: "Philosophy is concerned not with phenomena, but with their meaning; not with facts, but with values; not with what is, but with what ought to be; not with means, but with ends".[2] Really end or value is the prime achievement in philosophy, and that end or value is sought to be realized in one's experience: "*yad avagataṃ sat svavṛttitayā iṣyate tat prayojanaṃ*".[3] Or it can be said that "the terminal end is always happiness and absence of unpleasantness, while the instrumental ends are objects or actions which, directly or indirectly, bring about the final end".[4] It is an undeni-

1 Vide Dr. W. Pole: *The Philosophy of Music* (London, 1879), p. 6

2 Vide Joad: *Philosophy for Our Times* (1940), p. 25.

3 Cf. *The Vedāntaparibhāṣā*,

4 Cf. *The Siddhāntamuktāvalī*.

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able fact that a man seeks happiness or pleasure in his life, and tries to avoid pain and sorrow, living in this world of cause and sequence. But the question is what sort of happiness or pleasure he seeks. Generally it is found that he seeks happiness or pleasure in his life as a result of his actions and aspirations and enjoys that happiness or pleasure to mitigate his selfish motive only. But, perhaps he fails to get and enjoy it all the time in all actions, because happiness and pleasure (*sukha*) are always mixed up with unhappiness and sorrow (*duḥkha*) like the compresence of light and darkness. Or it can be said, in other words, in the dictums of the Upaniṣad that "happiness, which admits of a more or less is the bliss of Brahman, manifested in the mould of the internal organ, *antaḥkaraṇa*, due to contact with objects, whereas unsurpassable or absolute happiness is Brahman itself".[1] Now, in regard to music, man generally cultures music in order to enable him to get material gains and worldly pleasures. The philosophy of music states that music is the highest art, because it confers upon man absolute bliss and happiness, which are permanent and persisting all the time.

It should be remembered that the province as well as the outlook of philosophy of music are very broad and liberal, because they contain not only the materials of the supersensible divine world, but also of the sensible material one. It informs us of the real aim and object of music, and also deals with the laws and principles, together with the raw materials of music. As for example, as to the question:

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1 Cf. Dr. A. G. Krishṇa Warrier: *Brahman as Value* (in the "Brahmavidyā", the Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. XXV, pts. 1-4, 1961. pp. 479-480.

what do we mean by the philosophy of music, Dr. Pole says that a philosophy of music shall contain the enquiries into various musical problems like (i) the musical sounds, (ii) the nature of the simplest elementary modes in which the material is arranged or prepared for use, (iii) the distinction between two varieties of music, known as melody and harmony, along with other musical materials like counterpoint, time, measure, rhythm and form of music. "And broadly speaking", says Dr. Pole, "we may fairly assume that the principles, which have determined or influenced them, may be classed under two distinct heads, namely, *physical principles* and *aesthetical principles*". By *physical principles* are meant such principles as can be deduced, according to the laws of natural science, from the physical nature of musical sounds and from their known physiological effects on the human ear. By *aesthetical principles* are meant such principles as have resulted from the free action of the human mind, independently of any physical considerations.[1] Now the philosophical investigation of music will show that the truth lies between these two extreme principles.

The main material of music consists of tones or sounds, and philosophical concept of music centres round this sound theory. In India, the seers of music found out this truth and idea long before the West dreamt them. Long before Helmholtz, the intuitive authors on music of India discovered the mystery of sound (causal sound or *nāda*), which forms the background of the grand structure of music, and philosophy of music is absolutely concerned with the theory and value of the causal sound (*nāda*). In the previous

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1 Vide Dr. Pole: *The Pholosophy of Music* (1879), p. 12.

chapter, we have discussed about the theory of aesthetic or emotional sentiments and value of music, and in this chapter, we shall deal with the problem and value of the philosophy of music, mainly, conceived by the Indian seers and authors.

From the philosophical analysis of the problem and mystery of the universe it is found that everything material is based on its subtle form, and everything subtle, upon its causal one. The cycle of cause and effect forms the world of appearance. Man's intellectual pursuit begins with an enquiry into the cause of everything around him, and with this act of enquiry, metaphysics begin as a theoretical aspect of philosophy of being and becoming. The philosophy of music is also concerned with an enquiry into the ultimate cause of the manifestation of music, and helps men to get into the core of its mystery and offers them the everlasting bliss and happiness even in this life on the earth.

In the primitive society, men and women used to sing and dance as a part of pastime and pleasure in their every-day life, but they did never enquire about the cause behind music and dance. With the gradual development of culture and civilization, there was an awakening in the intellectual and intuitional pursuits of men, and they began to seek and dive deep into the real significance of music and dance.

Now, what is the cause as well as the foundation behind music? Philosophy and science of music state that sound is the cause and also the foundation of music. Sound is known in Sanskrit as *nāda*. Sound is produced by the friction of heat-energy (*agni*) and vital air (*prāṇa-vāyu*). It produces tones and tunes, or it can be said that music is produced by the vibrations of the sweet and soothing sound-units. *Rāgas*,

varṇas, *mūrcchanās*, *tānas*, *alaṁkāras*, etc. are also the outcome of the sweet and agreeable vibrations of the sound. From the science of music we know that a *rāga* is a psycho-material object, and it is constructed out of man's innermost feelings and sensibilities, together with material ingredients of tones and tunes.

The world of appearance is guided by the inscrutable law of cause and effect. The biologists are of opinion that a unicelular germ of life or a bioplasm, after passing through various stages of evolution, ultimately manifests in the form of a highly developed human being. Such happens also about music. The perfect form of music comes into being, after passing through various stages of becoming from a potential germ of sound. By a close observation into the cause or origin of sound, the scientists find that a latent force or psychic energy is the source of evolution of sound. Patañjali has said in the *Mahābhāṣya* that the latent force or psychic energy remains in the form of primordial causal sound, known as '*sphoṭa*'.

The *sphoṭa* is the substratum (*ādhāra*) of all kinds of sound, subtle and material. The *sphoṭa* is the all-inclusive (*sarvānusyūta*) universal causal sound. It is divided into different forms like *pada-sphoṭa*, *śabda-sphoṭa*, etc. The *pada-sphoṭa* means the awareness of the *sphoṭa* of a word which is necessary for the knowledge of the meaning (*artha*) of the word (*śabda*), exactly as the knowledge of a genus (*jāti*) is required for recognizing the individual belonging to it. The Nyāya philosophy admits the theory of generic concept (*jāti*). The generic concept can be said to be the *pada-sphoṭa* of the grammarians. The *pada-sphoṭa* is an important part of the unique and universal *sphoṭa*. The Kāshmere-Śaivism has dealt with the theory of *dhvani* like the Ālaṁkārikas as

a vital part of poetry or literary composition. Ālaṁkārika Ānandavardhana is of opinion that theory of *dhvani* is built on the theory of *sphoṭa*. Abhinavagupta has admitted it to some extent, though he is in great favour of the *rasa* theory i.e. the theory of emotional sentiment. Ācārya Bhatṛhari has dealt on the theory of *dhvani*, based on the *sphoṭavāda* in his *Vākyapadīya*. Abninavagupta and Mahimabhaṭṭa have followed Bhatṛhari in this respect. Abhinavagupta has said from the viewpoint of the *Śaivāgama* that *vāk* or *abhilāpa* (consciousness or expression) is not only gross and determinate, but also subtlest and indeterminate in its essence. According to the philosophy of grammar, the *parāvāk* is essentially identical with the ultimate Reality, the Brahman. The *sphoṭa* as such is free from all kinds of determinacy and gross expression, and yet it is determinate when manifests itself as the gross body of speech (*dhvani*). So the *sphoṭa* is both immanent and transcendent,—determinate and indeterminate in its nature, and from the rationalist viewpoint, the theory of *sphoṭa* upholds the doctrine of identity-in-difference.

The *Śaivāgama*-Tantra calls it the theory of voluntarism or *svatantravāda*, according to which, the absolute *vāk* or *sphoṭa* "manifests all from itself, in itself and by itself and by its universal free-will. All that constitutes the world of experience, whether unity or diversity or unity-in-diversity, whether subjective or objective or the relation between them, such as that of causality or action, etc., is the manifestation of the absolute free-will". So the Śaiva-Tantra holds that free-will is the ultimate Reality of all, and, therefore, *sphoṭa*, the substratum of all articulate and inarticulate sounds or speeches (*dhvani*), creates all kinds of sound, musical and non-musical, through the medium of

its free-will. The grammarians differ somewhat from the doctrine of the Śaiva-Tantra. Some say that it will not be wise to hold that the theory of *dhvani* is based upon the theory of *sphoṭa*, as maintained by Ānandavardhana, because there is some difference between the significances of the two theories. To summerise their views, I would like to quote Dr. S. K. De, while he says: "The word *dhvani* itself, as Ānandavardhana pointed out, is sometimes used by the grammarians for the word or letters which reveal the *sphoṭa*. Mammaṭa's remarks in this connection are pertinent. In his *Vṛtti* on the definition given by him of *dhvani* (1.4), he says that the *dhvani* is, according to the grammarians, that word which reveals the all-important *sphoṭa*, inasmuch as through it arises the knowledge of the word's meaning. Others, by whom he signifies the writers on the *dhvani*-theory is Poetics, carry this doctrine of the grammarians a step further and apply the term *dhvani* to the meaning as well as to the word, which is capable of suggesting a meaning superseding the one which is directly expressed. Intrinsically the two theories have scarcely any mutual connection; but what the Ālaṁkārikas really wanted was an authority for their assumption of the power of *vyañjanā*, which the great grammarians did not acknowledge. The *sphoṭa*-theory of the grammarians, however, presupposed something similar, for the *varṇas* of a word reveal, as it were, the ideal word. Hence it afforded an analogy which could at least boast of the authority of the Vaiyākaraṇas, the *prathame vidvāṃsaḥ* and which could therefore be seized upon by the Ālaṁkārikas as the foundation of their own theory of suggestion, ...Although it accepted, with some modifications, the grammarian's analysis of the nature and

function of speech and based its theory of *dhvani*, on the analogy of the theory of *sphoṭa*, the school really started independently with distinct theory of expression of its own, which demonstrated a function of *vyañjanā* and *vyāṅgārtha* untraceable in earlier speculative literature. But the influence of other schools of Poetics on the composite work on the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana cannot be ignored".[1] Regarding the real significance of the *sphoṭa*, Dr. De has further said: "The *sphoṭa*, which has been likened to the neo-Platonic *logos*, is of often translated by the terms 'expression', 'concept' or 'idea'; but none of these terms brings out its essential nature. Some philosophers propounded and the grammarians took it for granted that a word has intrinsically a word-prototype corresponding to it. The *sphoṭa* is not exactly this word-prototype, but it may be explained as the sound of a word as a whole, and as conveying a meaning apart from its compoent letters (*varṇas*). The *sphoṭa* does not contain exactly the sounds of the order peculiar to the letters, but the sounds of something corresponding to them are blended indistinguishably into a uniform whole. When a word is pronounced, individual sounds become reflected in some degree in the order of the *sphoṭa* in which the particular sounds are comprised; and as soon as the last sound dies away, the *sphoṭa*, in which the idea corresponding to all these sounds is comprised, becomes manifest and raises to our consciousness the idea thus associated. The sounds of a word as a whole, therefore, and a part from those of the constituent letters, reveal the *sphoṭa*".[2]

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1 Vide *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (1960), Vol. II, pp. 143-144.

2 Ibid. p. 143.

Now let us discuss the matter of the philosophical doctrine of sound that forms the background of music and musicology in a more explicit way. Pāṇini, Patañjali, Bhatṛhari, Nāgeśa, Punyarāja, Helarāja and others are of opinion that the causal sound or *sphoṭa* is the substratum and fountain-head of the cosmic world-process. According to them, *sphoṭa* is uncreated and eternal. But the Naiyāyikas and the Vaiśeṣikas have opposed their views, and have refuted the doctrine of eternality of sound (*śabdānantavāda*). They say that words and languages, made up of sound, are created by man, and, therefore, have beginning and end, which means they are perishable. But they, who defend the eternality of sound as well as the doctrine of *sphoṭa*, advance arguments that sounds are not created, but manifest through the medium of the vocal chord, and so the nature of their eternality is not lost. But, according to the grammarians, says Dr. P. C. Chakraborty, sound (*śabda*) is not lifeless mechanism, invented by man. It is more than a mere sound or symbol. "It is consciousness that splits up into the twofold category of *śabda* (sound) and *artha* (meaning), and what we call *vāk* as the vehicle of communication, is nothing but an expression of *caitanya* (spirit) lying within". According to Patañjali, words are divided into two, *nitya* and *kārya*,—eternal and created. The *nitya-śabda* is the supreme reality, which transcends the limitations of time and space. It is the *parāvāk* as well as the *para-Brahman*. The conception of *vāk* as *Vāgdevī* has glorified the idea of *akṣara* or *udgītha*. Dr. Chakraborty has further said that the doctrine of *sphoṭa*, as expounded and nourished by the grammarian, marks the climax of mysticism, reached by the Sanskrit Grammar. "The assumption of a spiritual phenomenon like *sphoṭa*, to which all sounds are reducible and from which all meanings

follow, furnishes a clue to the origin of sound. To the grammarian, *sphoṭa* is indivisible (*akhaṇḍa*), and represents *caitanya* in its purest form. Its sacred and lofty nature was much exaggerated by the grammarian so that it was finally identified with Brahman (—*Vaiyākaraṇabhhūṣaṇa*). The conclusion, at which the grammarians had arrived after all their speculations on *śabdatattva* is this supreme identity".[1]

Bhatṛhari was a staunch advocate of the doctrine of sound (*sphoṭavāda*). According to him, the *śabdatattva* and the *Brahmatattva* are interchangeable (vide *Vākyapadīya*, 1.1). All words and meanings are but the apparently different aspects of one and same thing. Bhatṛhari was thus conscious of that *mahāsatta* or Highest Universal which permeats all. He made his Vedāntic position perfectly clear, when he said that "*satta* represents the real essence of all things; it seems to be manifold in consequence of the diversity of objects; it is to be regarded as the *summum genus* which is denoted by all words, all *prātipadikas* (crude forms), verbal roots and suffixes like *tva* and *tal* (—*Vākyapadīya*, 3. 33·34)". But it should be remembered that this *satta* is not equal to the eternal supreme soul of Vedānta.

Bhatṛhari maintained the theory of eternality of sound (*sphoṭa*) in a different way. He said in the *brahmakāṇḍa* of the *Vākyapadīya* that Brahman, without beginning and end, is the indestructible essence of speech or sound. It is manifested in the form of things, and from it springs also the creation of the world-appearance. In fact, Bhatṛhari, Nāgeśa and others have established an identity between *śabda* and Brahman: (1) '*anādinidhānaṃ brahma śabda-tattvaṃ yadakṣaraṃ*',

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1 Vide *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. I (published by the R. K. Mission, 1st edition), p. 674.

(2) '*brahmedaṃ śabda-nirmāṇaṃ* * *'. In the *Yogasūtra* (1. 27), we find the close relationship between *vācya* and *vācaka* i. e. between the *praṇava* and the Brahman—'*tasya vācakaḥ praṇavaḥ*'. The *Vedāntasūtra* (1. 3. 28) has also supported the evolution of the world from the causal sound on the logical basis of perception and inference. Śaṅkara has said: "*eta iti vai prajāpatirdevānasṛjatāsṛgramiti* * * *śastramabhisaubhagetyanyāḥ prajāḥ*".

It should be noticed that Śaṅkara has drawn a mark of distinction between the 'evolution from the Brahman' and the 'evolution from the sound' from the view-point of causation. From the viewpoint of the evolution from the Brahman, the Brahman is implied as the material or essential cause (*upādāna-kāraṇa*), while from the viewpoint of the evolution from the sound (*śabda*), sound is implied as only the efficient cause (*nimitta-kāraṇa*). So, when Śaṅkara has advanced his view of evolution of the world-appearance from the sound (*śabda*) in the commentary of the *Brahmasūtra*, he has taken it as the matter of ordinary experience. Vyāsa has said: "*śabda iti cennātaḥ prabhavāt pratyakṣānumānābhyām*, Śaṅkara has explained in the commentary: "*na cedaṃ śabda - prabhavatvaṃ brahma - prabhavatva - vadu - pādāna-kāraṇatvābhiprāyeṇocyate* / ... ...*cikīrṣitamartha-manutiṣṭhn tasya vācakaṃ śabdaṃ pūrvaṃ smṛtvā paścātta - martha-manutiṣṭhatīti sarveṣāṃ naḥ pratyakṣametal*/*tathā prajāpa-terapi sraṣṭuḥ sṛṣṭeḥ prāk vaidikāḥ śabdā manasi prādurvabhū-vaḥ, paścāttadanugatānarthān sasarjeti gamyate*" (—Śaṅkara-bhāṣyaṃ, 1. 3. 28). That is, Śaṅkara means to say that the creative will (*sisṛkṣā*) of God, that has been sanctioned by the sacred Vedic dictum, is the cause of evolution of the world-process. So Śaṅkara has not practically accepted the views of the *sphoṭavādīns* or grammarians, who hold the

view that the world emanated from the eternal sound (*śabda*) or *sphoṭa*.

Some divide the causal sound or *sphoṭa* into *dhavni* and *varṇa*. They say that when sounds are pure and simple and do not convey any definite meaning or sense, they are known as *dhvanyātmaka-śabda*, and when they are intelligible and capable of being expressed by letters, they are known as *varṇātmāka-śabda*. Upavarṣa is of opinion that letters really constitute the stuff of the word (*'varṇā eva tu śabda iti bhagavanupavarṣaḥ'*), and this view has been accepted by Śaṅkara and Śabra Swāmīn. Patañjali has also accepted this view in the *Mahābhāṣya* to some extent, as he has hold the view that sounds are articulate (*vyakta-vāk*), when they are turned into letters. The audiable or articulated sound is known as *vaikharī*.

Now, what do we specifically mean by the word *sphoṭa*? It is called *sphoṭa*, because the meaning is ultimately expressed by it and not by sounds of momentary existence. The derivation of *sphoṭa* is *'sphuṭatyartho'smāditi sphoṭāḥ'* and *'vācakatā sphoṭaikaniṣṭhā'*. Again when a sentence is conceived as an indivisible unit, it is called *sphoṭa*. It is recognised both as internal and external entities. *Sphoṭa* as an internal entity is the spiritual indivisible consciousness in essence, and it is revealed by the sound or *dhvani*.

It has already been said that the grammarians identify *sphoṭa* with the Brahman, the world-essence. They say that *sphoṭa* is the source of knowledge of the sound (*śabdārthakāraṇa*), and it is not consisted of mere letters, as some believe. This view of the grammarians is quite different from that of Upavarṣa, and, consequently, those of Śaṅkara and Śabara Swāmīn, who have followed Upavarṣa. According to the grammarians, *sphoṭa* is sacred and divine, and it

symbolizes the conscious element or *cit-śakti*. Bhatṛhari has mentioned in the *Vākyapadīya* that the study of the science of sound leads men to the realization of all-pervading God, and thus has fully supported the doctrine of the *śabda-Brahman* (*śabda-brahmavāda*). Nāgeśa has quoted in his *Laghumañjuṣā* (vide p. 172) that *nāda*, being the source of all forms of *vāk*, is called the *śabda-Brahman*. Regarding the doctrine of *sphoṭa*, as expounded in the *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha*, Sāyaṇa-Mādhava has said in connection with the *Pāṇinīyadarśana*: "*tasmāt varṇānāṃ vācakatvānupapattau yadvāladartha - pratipattiḥ sa sphoṭaḥ/varṇātirikto varṇā-bhivyaṅgyartha - pratyāyako nityaḥ śabdaḥ sphoṭa iti tadvido vadanti/ata eva sphuṭyate vyajyate varṇairiti sphoṭo varṇābhivyaṅgyaḥ sphuṭati sphuṭībhavatyasmādartha iti sphoṭortha-pratyāyaka iti sphoṭa-śabdārthamubhayathā nirāhuḥ/.........tathā-coktaṃ bhagavatā patañjalinā mahā-bhāṣye.........*(Pātañjala Mahābhāṣya, p. 1) iti/........... *sphoṭo nādābhivyaṅgyo vācako vistareṇa vākyapadīye vyavasthāpita ityantena prabandhena*".[1] E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough have translated the portion thus:.......as letters cannot cause the cognition of the meaning, there must be a *sphoṭa* by means of which arises the knowledge of the meaning ; and this *sphoṭa* is an eternal sound, distinct from the letters and revealed by them, which causes the cognition of the meaning. It is disclosed (*sphuṭyate*) or revealed by the letters, hence it is called *sphoṭa*, as revealed by the letters or 'from it is disclosed the meaning, hence it is called *sphoṭa* as causing the knowledge of the meaning, these are the two etymologies to explain the meaning of the word', etc.

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1 Vide the *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha* (edited by M M Abhyaṅkaropādhyāya Vāsudeva Śāstrī and published by the Bhāṇḍārkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1924, p. 300.

The *sphoṭa* can be compared with the divine mystic word, *Om* or *praṇava*, wherefrom all the forms of speech or *vāk* are supposed to emanate. The author of the *Yogasūtra* has also identified the *śabdatattva* with the *Brahmatattva*. Nāgeśa has compared *sphoṭa* with the eternal phase of the *praṇava*: "*etadavasthātrayamapi*.........*sūkṣma-praṇava-rūpaḥ*" (vide the *Laghumañjuṣā*, p. 179). He has also admitted that *sphoṭa* alone is expressive of sense or meaning and is the potentiality or infinite consciousness, which is known as *bindu*, composed of three basic subtle qualities or *guṇas*. The *bindu* is an inexhaustible and infinite source of energy or *śaktitattva*. The unconscious part of this energy is known as *vīja*, while the combination of the conscious and unconscious parts (*cit* and *acit*) is called *nāda*. The intelligent part of it is known as *bindu*, and it has been said that it is the ultimate source of all forms of speech or *vāk*. Nāgeśa has said in the *Laghumañjuṣā* (p. 171): "*pralaye niyata-kāla-paripākānāṃ sarva-prāṇikarmaṇāmupa-bhogena*.........*māyā cetane īśvare līyate/tataḥ parameśva-rasya sisṛkṣātmikā māyāvṛttirjāyate/tato bindurūpamavyak-taṃ triguṇaṃ jāyate/idameva śaktitattvaṃ/tasya bindora-cidaṁśo vījaṃ, cidacinmiśro'ṅgśo nādaḥ, cidaṁśo vindu-riti*......".

In the Ṛgveda (1. 164. 45), we find the mention of four kinds of *vāk*:

> Catvāri vāk-parimitā padāni tāni vidur-brāhmaṇā ye manīṣinaḥ/
> Guhā triṇi nihitā neṅgayanti turīyaṃ vāce manuṣyā vadanti//

The last and fourth form of speech (*vaikharī*) is spoken by men through the medium of the vocal organ. Patañjali has also said about four kinds of *padas* like noun, verb,

preposition and particle: "*catvāri padajātāni nāmākhyāto-pasarga-nipātaḥ*". Bhatṛhari, Nāgeśa, Gauḍapāda and Sāyaṇa have also divided the speech into four parts, *parā, paśyanti, madhyamā* and *vaikharī*. These four kinds of speech "correspond to four different stages, through which *nāda* passes till it becomes perfectly audible. Thus, we may start with *bindu* or the final point as the crude germ of sound and proceed from the *mūlādhāra* to the *viśuddha*, in order to see how *śabda-Brahman* or *parāvāk* transforms itself into popular speech. From *bindu*, it is said, arises *nāda* which is called *śabda-Brahman*; it is featureless, intellectual in essence, and possesses the characteristics which are favourable to the cosmic creation. It is the essence of the world that is often signified by such words as *rava* and *parā*. The nature of the *parāvāk*, as described in the *Mahābhārata* and elsewhere, convinces us that it is luminiferous consciousness residing in the *mūlādhāra*, creative but indestructible. It is what is known as the *śabda-Brahman* or the essence of the *Logos*. When *nāda* or *parāvāk* gets manifested a little and the iternal air that serves to reveal it comes up to the navel region from the *mūlādhāra*, we have *paśyantī* form of the *vāk* which is not divisible into parts. Those two kinds of speech are exceedingly subtle and cognisable by the *Yogīns* alone in a state of perfect spiritual absorption (*samādhi*). Next in order comes *madhyamā* which is revealed by the same air, when it passes to the region of the heart. It has intelligence as its only ingredient. Nāgeśa has drawn our attention to the fact that these three kinds of *vāk*, gradual stages of amplifications as they are of the same *nāda*, represent, so to speak, the minutest, the minuter and the minute forms of *praṇava*. The *vaikharī* form of speech is what is spoken by men. It is generated when the

internal air passes through the throat and reaches the mouth".[1]

The grammarian philosophers say that the *śabda-Brahman* manifests itself in gross form through the medium of sound or *dhvani*. Now, what do we mean by '*śabda-Brahman*'? In the *Vākyapadīya*, Helārāja interprets the *śabda-Brahaman* or Word-Absolute as the nature of pure bliss or *śuddhānanda*. Puṇyarāja, another commentator of the *Vākyapadīya*, does not accept this theory, as according to him, the Word-Absolute can be identified with *samvid* or consciousness, and not with *ānanda* or bliss. Bhatṛhari has stated that the Word-Absolute is the ultimate reality, and it can be reached through the medium of the word or *śabda*. So words should be balanced and chaste or purified. Because, says Dr. G. N. Śāstrī, "strict adherence to chaste forms gradually results in the emergence of a special kind of merit leading to permanent spiritual advancement. For this reason, the correct readings and intonations of the Vedic *mantras* create a holy atmosphere that helps men to enjoy quiteness and perfect tranquility". Puṇyarāja calls this tranquil state as *kṣema* that bestows emancipation (*apavarga*) to men, and make them free from the chain of delusion.

Bhatṛhari and some of his followers maintain that the state of *paśyantī* is the eternal *śabda-Brahman* itself, and *madhyamā* and *vaikharī* are the manifestations of *paśyanti*. Bhatṛhari says that *paśyantī* is the *summum bonum* of human existence, and it is itself the conscious entity (*cit*). *Paśyantī* can really be said to be the transcendental consciousness, in which the distinction between word and

1 Cf. Dr. P.C. Chakraborty: *The Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus* (Calcutta University, 1933), pp. 49-50.

import, the knower and the knowable, vanishes. But Helārāja, and specially Puṇyarāja differ from Bhatṛhari. They are of opinion that *paśyantī* is the first divine manifestation of the *śabda-Brahman* or *sphoṭa*, and not the *śabda-Brahman* or *sphoṭa* itself. Some of the neo-grammarians differ from all of them, as, according to them, *parā*, and not *paśyantī*, is the first and prime manifestation of the *sphoṭa*. But Helārāja and Puṇyarāja have opposed this theory. The Śaiva philosophers of the Kāshmere Trika system hold the similar view, as maintained by the neo-grammarians, and it seems that the latters were somehow or rather influenced by the Śaiva school of Kāshmere. The philosophers of the Trika school hold that *parāvāk* gives birth to the three states, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikharī*, and so *vaikharī* is regarded as the first evolved principle, and though it is an effect of *parāvāk*, yet is pure, indivisible and eternal. It is the cause of *madhyamā*, which is sensed by the mind only, and from *madhyamā*, *vaikharī* evolves as the gross material one. According to the authors on music as well as the *Śaṅgītaśāstras*, *vaikharī* manifests as the gross tunes and tones of music.

While dealing with *paśyantī* and other states in the *Śivadṛṣṭi*, Somānandanāth says somewhat in a different way that *paśyanti* is regarded as the individual soul or *jīva*, who experiences different objects of enjoyment from the material body which is known as the *bhogakṣetra*. But it should be remembered that individually it is known as the *jīva* and universally it transcends the limitations of body and senses. So the grammarian philosophers designate the universal one as an enjoyer or *pramātā*, which is an all-knowing entity, the prime object of human achievement and an eternal one. The universal aspect or stage of *paśyantī* is reached, when

the veil of nescience is removed and the limiting adjuncts of time, space and causation are transcended. Therefore the real status of *paśyantī* is no other than the supreme universal Reality. *Madhyamā* evolves from the vibrating surface of *paśyantī*, and it may, therefore, be regarded as an *idea of becoming* in the part of *paśyantī*. *Madhyamā* may be compared to a stuff of the intellect or *buddhitattva* of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. It manifests itself as two divergent entities, *prāṇa* and *apāna*, or *bindu* and *nāda*, which rise from the navel base, *mūlādhāra*. "When the stage of *madhyamā*", says Dr. G. N. Śāstrī, "is crossed, *paśyantī* comes up, as it were, into the cavity of the mouth through the medium of the two breaths and touches the different scources of articulation. It is known as *vaikharī*, in which the discrete letters of the alphabet find their proper expression".

Abhinavagupa of the Kāshmere Trika school has also described the stages of *paśyantī*, etc. in a beautiful mannar in his commentary, *Parātriṁśikā*. He maintains that Paramaśiva, the Brahman, assumes the form of *parāvāk* or transcendental Word for self-enjoyment, which may be regarded as the sportive play or *līlā* on his part. Again *parāvāk* manifests itself as Sadāśiva and Īśvara i.e. as the power of knowledge and the power of activity (*jñānaśakti* and *icchāśakti*). Though these two manifestations are essentially known as *paśyantī* and *madhyamā*, yet *paśyantī* is different to some extent from *madhyamā*, because in the state of *paśyantī*, the notions of subject and object are absolutely negated or transcended, whereas in the state of *madhyamā*, they remain as separate entities and are cognizable. These have further been lucidly explained in Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*. Well has it been said by Dr. Gaurīnāth Śāstrī in the *Philosophy of Word and*

Meaning: "There he (Abhinavagupta) says that *parāvāk* assumes the state of *paśyantī* when, through its innate autonomous spontaneity, it externalized itself. As the order of the denoter and its denotation does not arise in that state, we find no differentiation. It is the light of consciousness alone which shines with all its lustre, and, consequently, it is described as the cognizer or the seer...... In *madhyamā*, which is purely intellectual, the differentiation between the denoter and its denotation becomes slightly manifested. It is described as the intermediate stage between indistinct and distinct manifestation. And the name *madhyamā* owes its origin to this fact. The stage of distinct manifestation of the difference between the denoter and denotation is called *vaikharī*, which exhibts the sequence of letters and syllables. Each of the three stages, *paśyantī* *madhyamā* and *vaikharī*, is further divided into three stages, gross, subtle and super-subtle. Thus the gross form of *paśyantī* is represented by the prelude to a song as denoted by the technical term, *ālāpa*, in which there is no differentiation of letters and which is singularly captivating. The gross state of *madhyamā* is represented by the sound which arises when the fingers play upon a musical instrument, say, a drum (*mṛdaṅga*). The gross stage of *vaikharī* is represented by what produces the various letters. The subtle conditions of each of these manifestations are respectively represented by the desire to sing, the desire to play upon a musical instrument and the desire to speak. And the super-subtle conditions are represented by the pure knowledge which lies as the source of the aforesaid desires".[1]

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1. Cf. *Philosophy of Word and Meaning* (1959), pp. 74-75. Cf. also Shri P. B. Mukherji: *The Metaphysics of Sound* (An Appendix to *Japasūtram*, 1961), pp. 71-73.

Similar interpretations have been given by Maheśvarānanda in the *Mahārthamañjarī*. Bhāskararāya has also described these states in a somewhat different way. According to him, *śabda-Brahman* manifests first in the basic lotus (*mūlādhāra*) and then is known as *parāsvāk*. When it comes up to the third base of *manipur*, it is known as *paśyantī*, and as soon as the same breath reaches the heart of *svādhiṣṭhāna*, it is known as *madhyamā*, and the subsequent manifestation of the *śabda-Brahman* is *vaikharī*, which is grossest and represents itself as *vīja*. In this state, breath strikes the different places of articulation. In fact, the *cakras* are not plexuses or gangila, but are the centres of consciousness or primary knowledge. "The causal sound or *nāda* is produced in the basic *cakra* by the action of volition of the self on the vital air. It is called the *parāvāk*. When it ascends to the *svādhiṣṭhāna cakra*, it unfolds itself and becomes *paśyantī*, and when it ascends to the *anāhata-cakra*, it is united with intellect or *buddhi* and becomes *madhyamā*. Gradually it ascends upward and reaches the *viśuddha-cakra* in the throat, and becomes *vaikharī*. From there it rises towards the head, spreads over the palate, the tongue, lips, teeth, the root of the tongue, etc. and produces articulate sound".[1]

Now, as *vāk* or speech is the cause or fountain-head of music, the science and the theory of *vāk* should be studied with care in connection with music. The word *vāk* comes from the root *vāch*, which means 'to speak'. The word *vāk*, therefore, connotes the idea of voice or sound,

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1 (a) Cf. Dr. J.N. Sinha: *Indian Philosophy* (Emotion and Will), Vol. II. (1961), p. 11.
(b) Vide also the *Ṣaṭcakranirūpaṇa*, p. 11. and the *Parapañcasāratantra*, p. 43.

and this sound manifests itself in three main aspects, *parā* (supreme) or *kāraṇa* (causal), *sūkṣma* (subtle) and *sthūla* (gross). The *parāvāk* is the cosmic ideation (*sṛṣṭi-kalpanā*) of the Lord, the Creator (*Īśvara*). Well has it been said by Sir John Woodroffe: "The feminine noun *vāk*, therefore, means literally both voice and word it utters, as also the sound of inanimate objects. It has the same sense therefore as *śabda*. *Artha* is meaning or object. *Pratyaya* is mental apprehension. All things have a threefold sense, supreme (*parā*), subtle (*sukṣma*) and gross (*sthūla*). *Parāvāk* is the causal stress which, in terms of *pratyaya*, is the cosmic ideation (*sṛṣṭi-kalpanā*) of *Īśvara*. * * But *vāk* is also an effect, eiher subtle or gross. *Pasyatī-vāk* is *vāk* actually going forth as *īkṣaṇa* (seeing), producing or manifesting as *sūkṣma madhyamā-vāk* or *Hiraṇyagarbha-śabda* which is the *mātrikā* state of *śabda*, as it exists in man prior to its gross manifestation as the *varṇas* in spoken speech (*vaikharī-vāk*). In the Ṛgveda, Sarasvatī (V. 43. 11) is called Pāviravī or daughter of the Lightning, that is, of the great *vajra* which sustains the worlds, which according to Sāyaṇa is *mādhyamikī-vāk*".[1]

Vedānta admits four-fold states of evolution of the prime principle which are known as *Turīya*, *Īśvara*, *Hiranyagarbha* and *Virāṭa*. Tantra states that the psychic energy sleeps under the bed of the subconsciousness or unconsciousness. The pure consciousness or *śuddha-cit* remains in its core, veiled with causal nescience or *māyā*. The mystic poet Rāmaprasād has described it as "*prasuptā bhujagākārā svayambhu śiva-veṣṭhiṇī*". The treatises on music state

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1 Vide *The Garland of Letters* (1922), pp. 1-2. Cf. also Śwāmī Pratyagātmānanda: *Japasūtraṃ* (Madras, 1961), pp. 22-26.

that when the current of the vital air or *prāṇa-vāyu* comes in contact with the will-power or *icchā-śakti*, there originates a vibration (*spandana*), resulting in a subtle audible sound, which is called the *anāhata-nāda*. Then gradually it becomes grosser and grosser, and manifests at last through the vocal chord and is known as the *āhata-nāda* or musical sound.

Let us investigate as to how and when philosophy or philosophical idea of music came into being. The germ of the philosophical idea can be found in the great epic, *Mahābhārata* (vide the *āśvamedhika-parvaṃ*, 53. 52-54). The epic says,

Tatraika-guṇa ākāśaḥ śabda ityeva sa smṛtaḥ/
Tasya śabdasya vakṣyāmi vistareṇa vahūn guṇān//
Ṣaḍjarṣabhaḥ gāndhāro madhyamaḥ pañcamaḥ smṛtaḥ/
Ataḥ paraṃ tu vijñeyo niṣādo dhaivatastathā //
Iṣṭacāniṣṭa-śabdaśca saṁhataḥ pratibhānavān/
Evaṃ vahuvidho jñeyaḥ śabda ākāśa-sambhavaḥ//

The compilation of the great epic in its present form began from 300 B.C. and, therefore, we can assume that before 300 B.C. the philosophical conception of the origin of music evolved in Indian society. The sociological condition of epic India was quite favourable for the evolution and growth of the philosophical idea, and we should not forget that the monumental work on philosophy, the *Bhagavat-gītā* was also the product of that synthetic period (*samanvaya-yuga*). The portion of the *śloka* 54: '*śabda ākaśa-sambhavaḥ*,' i.e. 'sound had its origin in the ether' is very significant. The neo-Nyāya philosophy says '*śabdaguṇamākāśaṃ*', i.e. sound is the category of ether. Following the doctrine of the Sāṅkhya philosophy the compilor of the *Mahābhārata* states:

Ākāśamuttamaṃ bhūtaṃ ahaṁkārastataḥ paraḥ/
Ahaṁkārat parā buddhiḥ buddherātmā tataḥ paraḥ//

This doctrinal truth has again been mentioned in the *Gītā* as '*yo buddheḥ paratastu saḥ* (III. 42). From this it is understood that the basic psychic content or *ātman* is the fountain-head of everything in this phenomenal world. This psychic content is the cause of sound, both musical and non-musical. The later musicologists say that the vital force of science of music or musicology is the *nāda*, the *ātman*: '*gītaṃ nadātmakaṃ*'. Siṅhabhupāla, the commentator says: '*nādātmakaṃ nāda ātma-svarūpaṃ yasya*', i.e. the causal sound is the vitality or the psychic force-centre of music. Mataṅga, the author of the *Bṛhaddeśī* (5th-6th century A.D.) identifies the causal music (*nāda*) with the presiding deities of creation, preservation and destruction (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara). He has said:

Nādarūpaḥ smṛito brahmā nādarūpo janārdanaḥ/
Nādarūpa parā-śakti nādarūpo maheśvaraḥ//

That is, the divine idea, that was in a seed form before creation i. e. projection (*sṛṣṭi*), manifested with its richness and beauty. In Bharata's (2nd century A. D.) *Nāṭyaśāstra*, we find that the raw materials of music were collected from the Sāmaveda, whereas literature (*sāhitya*) was taken from the Ṛgveda. drama from the Yajurveda and the emotional sentiments from the Arthavaveda.

Jagrāha pāṭhyamṛgvedāt sāmebhyo gītameva ca/
Yajurvedādabhinayān rasānartharvanādapi//
Evaṃ bhagavatā sṛiṣṭo brahmanā lalitātmakaṃ/

Abhinavagupta has said in his commentary, *Abhinava-bhāratī*: "*pāṭhya-gata-svara-prasaṅgāt tadanantaraṃ sāme-bhyo gītaṃ jagrābetyuktaṃ......evakāreṇa gīta mantraṃ tata gṛhītaṃ gitīṣu sāmākhyeti nyāyāt tadādhāradhruvapada-yojana-mṛgvedādeveti darśayati*" etc.

The idea of the philosophy of music is found in Mataṅga's (5th-7th century A. D.) *Bṛhaddeśī* in a more developed form. He has divided music into two parts, music with rhythm (*nivaddha-gāna*) and music without rhythm (*anivaddha-ālāpa*): "*nivadhaścānivaddhaśca mārgoyaṃ dvividho mataḥ*". These two kinds of music evolved from a central or basic energy. Mataṅga has enumerated five grades of evolution of the musical sound, and they are: subtle, subtlest, manifested, unmanifested and mechanical, "*sa ca pañcavidho bhavet sūksmaścāivātisūksmaśca vyaktaśca kṛtrimaḥ*". He has laid stress upon its source or basic psychic content, the *nāda*. In fact, the *nāda* is the determinate (*saguṇa*) form of the absolute Brahman, and its real indeterminate (*nirguṇa*) aspect is the *ātman*, which is the pure and absolute consciousness. Mataṅga has said,

Na nādena vinā gītaṃ na nādena vinā svaraḥ/
Na nādena vinā nṛttaṃ tasmānnādātmakaṃ jagat//

The world of appearance is the projection of the *nāda*, the *śabda-Brahman*. In the 7th-9th or 7th-11th century A. D., Pāraśvdeva has laid great importance to the foundation of music, the *nāda*. He has said that the raw materials like *svara*, *rāga*, *vādya* and *tāla* compose mainly the form of music, but all of them have their ground in the unmanifested causal sound, *nāda*:

Svaro gītaṃ ca vādyaṃ ca tālaśceti catuṣṭayaṃ/
Na sidhyati vinā nādaṃ taṣmānnādātmakaṃ jagat.//

In the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, we find that Śāraṅgdeva has synthesized all the doctrines of the *Pātañjala-Mahābhaṣya*, the *Yoga-darśana*, Tantra and Vedānta in his inunciation of the philosophical foundation of music. In the beginning of his book, he adores reverentially the *śabda-Brahman*, who assumes the body of sound:, '*nādatanu*'. Siṁhabhupāla

has said that *nādatanu* is an epithet of the *śabda-Brahman*: "*nādastanuḥ svarūpaṃ yasya taṃ, śabda-brahmetyuktatvāt*".[1] Śāraṅgdeva has said,

Brahmagranthija-mārutānugatinā cittena hṛt-paṅkaje/,

* * * *

Vande nādatanuṃ tamuddhura-jagad-gītaṃ mude śaṅkaraṃ//,

Śāraṅgdeva has identified the causal music (*nāda*) with Śaṅkara, the *śabda-Brahman*. The static causal music is also known as the *brahma-granthi*. While commenting on the word '*brahma-granthi*', Siṁhabhupāla says that the navel base, *mūlādhāra* is the divine base or ground of the Brahman-knowledge. The aspiring lovers of music can attain the immortal bliss of the transcendantal consciousness by concentrating their mind upon that place: "*brahmapadaṃ sakala-vighna - vināśa - nighna-hṛdayaṃ paramātmānaṃ smārayat-prathama-niveśān-maṅgalācaraṇamapi bhabiṣyatīti manvāno nāda-svarūpaṃ mokṣa-nidānaṃ prathamaṃ brahmapadaṃ prāyuṅkta*". Kallināth has said that when the navel psychic energy rises up to the twelve-petalled plexus (*anāhata-cakra*) in the heart, it shines as the all-consiciousness *ātman*, and the Upaniṣad calls it the Puruṣa in the form of a thum: "*aṅguṣ-*

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1 Regarding *nādatanuṃ*, Siṁhabhupāla says: "नादतनुम् , नादस्तनुः स्वरूपं यस्य तम् ; शब्दब्रह्मेत्युक्तत्वात् । यद्वा नादेन कार्येन कारणमाकाशमुपलक्षयेत् ; तेनाकाशस्वरूपमित्यर्थः, आकाशोऽप्येका मूर्तिः परमेश्वरस्य ; एतदुपादानं च परमेश्वरस्यापि शब्दकारणत्वात्तदनुग्रहस्य ग्रन्थस्वरूपशब्दविस्तर-समाप्तिसाधनत्वाभिव्यर्थम् ।" Kallināth says: "नादतनुं नादविग्रहम् , 'तत्सृष्ट्वा तदेवानुप्राविशत्' इति श्रुतेः । * * ऊर्द्ध्वनाडीसंलग्ना यास्तिरश्चो नाड्यस्तासु चित्ताकृष्टमारुताहतेरुत्पन्नो नादः पदशब्देन लक्ष्यते, तत्स्थे तदुपचारात् ।"—SR. I. 1.

ṭhamātraḥ puruṣa madhya ātman tiṣṭhati". The psychic sound at last manifests itself as the audible pleasing musical sound, and soothes the hearts of men and animals. But it should be remambered that though it unfolds itself as the gross material form, yet it contains in it the potentiality of the Divinity. In the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (third *utpatti-prakarana* of the *svarādhyaya*), Śāraṅgdeva has elaborately discussed the divine nature of the causal sound. He says that when the causal sound manifests in the level of the heart, it is known as bass or *mandra*; when it is manifested in the level of the throat, it is known as medium or *madhya*, and when it is manifested in the base of the tongue, it is known as high or *tāra* (SR. I. 3.7.). The three levels are frequently known as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, the presiding deities of creation, preservation and destruction, with their ethical qualities like *rajas*, *sattva*, *tamas*. The medium one is the balancing point or *nābhi* of the two extremities, lower and higher—bass and high. The balancing centre is the neutral point of the poles, positive and negative. *Mandra* and *tāra* are the two extremities of an octave (Indian *saptaka*). The philosophy of music teaches how to create a balance between the bass (*mandra*) and the high (*tāra*). In an octave (*saptaka*), we find that the fourth note, *madhyama* plays the role of the medium, and it brings a balance between two groups of notes, 'sa-ri-ga' and 'pa-dha-ni'. So it is a common practice to demonstrate the *rāgas* from the medium octave (*saptaka*). Even in the Vedic period, we find that among the three register tones, *anudātta*, *svarita* and *udātta*, the middle *svarita* used to bring balance between *anudātta* and *udātta*, ('*samāhāra-svaritaḥ*'). This practice bears a very deep philosophical meaning and spiritual significance too.

Regarding the microtones (*śrutis*), Śāraṅgdeva has said that from the differentiation in the capacity of our hearing the causal sound, the twenty-two minute sound-units or microtones are realized. Those microtones are easily recognized in the frets of the *veeṇā*. Paṇḍit Kallināth quotes Mataṅga's view, regarding the mystic seeds of sound of seven tones, and they are *harivīja*, *kāmavīja*, etc., connected with the eight *vargas* like ka-ca-ta-pa-ya-sa. Here we find the influence of Tantra philosophy on music. The theory of astrology has also been adopted for the determination of the names of the microtones. Siṁghabhupāla quotes Mataṅga, who maintains both the theories of tranformation (*pariṇāmavāda*) and manifestation (*abhivyaktivāda*). Siṁghabhupāla says that there are differences of opinion ('*atra vahudhā vipratipattiḥ*'), regarding the origin of microtones. He puts forward five theories in favour of the origin of the microtones, and they are: (1) theory of concomittance (*tādātmyavāda*), (2) theory of cause-effect or anticident-precedent (*kārya-kāraṇavāda*) (3) theory of superimposition (*vivartavāda*), (4) theory ot manifestation (*abhivyaktivāda*) and (5) theory of tranformation (*pariṇāmavāda*).[1] From

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1 Sāraṅgdeva has forwarded three kinds of doctrine, *dvaita*, *viśiṣṭādvaita* and *advaita* as regards the creation of the world-appearance or music. He has said,

य आत्मा परमात्मा च विश्रान्त्यै संहरत्यथ ।
तदेतत्सृष्टिसंहारं प्रवाहानादि संमतम् ॥
ते जीवा नात्मनो भिन्ना भिन्नं वा नात्मनो जगत् ।
शक्तया सृजन्नभिन्नोऽसौ सुवर्णं कुण्डलादिव ॥
सृजत्यविद्ययेत्यन्ये यथा रज्जुभुजंगमम् ॥

—SR. 1.2 10-12

this we come to know the trends of philosophical tendency in the province of Indian music.

The *rāgas* evolve from the process of combination and permutation of different kinds of ascending and descending notes. Paṇḍit Damodara has also mentioned about the philosphical conception of origin of the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* in the *Saṅgītadarpaṇa*. He says that all the *rāgas* evolve from Śiva and Śakti: five principal *rāgas* from five mouths of Śiva-Pañcānana and one from the mouth of Gaurī. The *rāgas* like *śrī*, *vasanta*, *bhairava*, *pañcama* and *megha* came out of the five mouths of Śiva, which are known as *sadyovaktra*, *vāmadeva*, *aghora*, *tatpuruṣa* and *īśāṇa*, and the *rāga*, *naṭanārāyāṇa* came out of the mouth of Gaurī.

Śiva-śakti-samāyogāt rāgānāṃ sambhavo bhavet/
Pañcāsyāt pañca-rāgāḥ syuḥ ṣaṣṭhastu girijāmukhāt//
Sadyovakrāntu śrīrāgo vāmadevādvasantakaḥ/
Aghorāt bhairavodbut-tatpuruṣāt pañcamodbhavat//
Īśāṇākhyān-megharāgo nādyārambhe śivādbhūta/
Girijāyā mukhāllāsye naṭṭanārāyaṇo'bhavet//[1]

This philosophical conception of the Śiva-Śakti principle had its root in the notion of the related and the relation, which means the cause and the effect. Everything material or mental—gross or subtle—has a causal relation between the antecedence and the precedence. When an event is followed by another event, we call the former a

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Regarding the doctrine of superimposition (*vivarta*), Kallināth says: "अन्ये वेदान्तिनः। अविद्ययाऽधिष्ठानाज्ञानेन। तत्र दृष्टान्तः—यथा रज्जू-र्भुजंगममिति। एतेन प्रपञ्चस्यातत्त्वतोऽन्यथाभावाद् ब्रह्मविवर्तत्वं दर्शितम्॥"

1 It has also been discussed and quoted before in the chapter of the *Iconography of Indian Music* (cf. pp. 311-313).

cause and the latter an event. The cycle of cause and effect designs the world of appearance. When music first appeared in the human world in the primitive society, men did neither bother their heads about its problem of origin nor its cause, and so no philosophical idea did grow at that time behind the art and culture of music. In the Vedic time; music was cultured mainly for religious and spiritual achievements, and it was regarded as a means to an end of the human beings at large. In the beginning of the classical period (600-500 B. C.), music was known as '*mārga*' or *gāndharva* type of music, and it was designed after the form and ideal of the sacred Vedic music, *sāma-gāna*. It was sacred and celestial in its nature. The genus-specis (*janya-janaka*) scheme had already appeared in the domain of Indian music, which had its origin in the collected materials of the Vedic music. The materials as well as methods of the *gāndharva* music were searched for ('*mṛg—anveṣaṇe*') and were collected from those of the Vedic music, and so it was known as '*mārga*'. The *grāmarāgas* had their origin in the *jātis* or *jātirāgas* ("*jāti-sambhūtatvāt grāmarā-gāni*"), and, therefore, they evolved according to the scheme of *janaya-jānaka* or antecedence-precedence, which brought the idea of the cause-effect relation. The cause is conceived in the Tantra as the masculine or male principle, whereas the effect as the feminine or female one. The male is known as the productive one that generates and sustains the effect. It has already been stated that in the *Nāradīśikṣā* (1st century A. D.), we come across for the first time the notion of the subtle tones, known as microtones (*śrutis*), and they are *tīvrā*, *āyatā*, *mṛdu*, *madhyā* and *karuṇā*. From these five causal microtones, twenty-two microtones evolved in the latter time, and they have mentioned and described by

Muni Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It is said that Muni Bharata devised the twenty-two microtones according to the emotive values of the five causal microtones, as described by Nārada in the *Śikṣā*. The five causal microtones of the *Śikṣā* are known as *jātis* ('*janakatvāt jātiḥ*') or genus, whereas the twenty-two microtones are known as *vyakti* or species. The *jāti* or genus is conceived as Śiva, being the cause, and *vyakti* or species as Śakti, being the effect. Bharata's genus-species scheme of the mycrotones are as follows:

I. *Dīptā*: which possesses the aesthetic quality of brilliance or shining radianc. The latter evolved microtones like *raudrī*, *vajrikā*, *tīvra* and *ūgrā* are included in the category of the *diptā-jāti*, and these microtones also possesses the similar emotive qualities as those of *dīptā*.

II. *Āyatā*: which possesses the aesthetic quality of vastness or expansion. It contains the latter developed microtones like *krodhā prasāriṇī*, *sandipanī*, *rohinī* and *kumudvatī*, having similar emotive sentiments of broadness and abundance.

III. *Mṛdu*: that possesses the aesthetic of softness and calmness, and it contains the microtonal units like *ratikā*, *prīti*, *kṣiti* and *mandā*, having similar emotional sentiments as that of *mṛdu*.

IV. *Madhyā*: that possesses the balancing quality, and it contains *raktā*, *ramyā*, *ranjanī*, *mārjanī*, and *kṣobhiṇī*, having similar asthetic quality.

V. *Karuṇā*: that possesses the emotional sentiments of compassion and sympathy, and it contains the microtonal units like *dayāvatī*, *madantī* and *ālāpinī*, having similar pathetic and compassionate nature.[1]

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1 These have already been discussed before in some of the chapters.

It has already been said before that the scheme of *jāti-vyakti* or genus-species has now been reduced to cause-effect relation (*kārya-kāraṇa-sambandba*), and it is rooted in the notion of the Śiva-Śakti-principle that forms the background not only of music, but also of everything in this phenomenal universe. Regarding the class (*śrenī*) of the *rāgas*, Paṇḍit Somanāth (1608 A.D.) quotes a *śloka* from the *Aumāpataṃ* by Umāpati (14th century A.D.):

Śuddho rañjanakārī svena cchāyālagaḥ parāśrayataḥ/
Saṁkīrṇastūbhayathā mata-muditamumāpaterevaṃ//
—*Rāgavibodha* (Adyar ed. 1945), IV. 3.

That is, while explaining the *rāgas* from the viewpoint of the Śaiva-Tantra school, Umāpati has said that the *rāgas* of pure type are the embodiment of the Lord Śiva, the *chāyālaga* or *sālaga* type of *rāgas* are that of the Śakti, and the *saṁkīrṇa* type of *rāgas* are that of the Śiva-Śakti combined principle. The intuitive artists and musicologists describe two forms of melody-type (*rāga*), and they are sound-form (*nādamaya* or *śabdamaya*) and deity-form (*devatāmaya*). They have understood the importance of deification and visualization of the melody-types (*rāgas*), and they realized the fundamental psychic values of the *rāgas* by the proper application of emotional interpretation of them. Paṇḍit Somanāth has clarified the doctrine of invoking the presiding deities of the *rāgas* by means of *dhyāna*-formula, and says:

Uktaṃ rūpamanekaṃ tattadrāgasya nādamayamevaṃ/
Atha devatāmayamiha kramataḥ kathaye tadaikaikāṃ//
—*Rāgavibodha*, V. 168.

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but here they have been dealt in a different way in relation to twenty-two microtones, as advanced by Bharata.

'That is called *rūpa*, which, by being embellished with sweet flourishes of *svaras* (tones), brings a *rāga* vividly before one's mind. It is of two kinds, *nādātmā* (one whose soul or essence is sound), and *devamaya* (*devatā-dehamayaṃ*), one whose soul or essence is an image incarnating the deity, of which the former has many phases and the latter has only one'. The physical sound-forms being impregnated with aesthetic sentiments and moods become vivid and divine, and they are transformed into image-forms as incarnations of those emotional aspects. Prof. O. C. Gāṅgoly says: "The application to the theory of Indian music, this doctrine of image-worship i.e. the idea of invoking the presiding deity, or the spirit of the divinity by means of a *dhyāna*-formula, an evocative scheme of prayer for contemplation, has led to the conception of the forms of *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* in dual aspects viz. as audible Sound-Forms, and visible Image-Forms—"*nādamaya-rūpa* and *devatāmaya-rūpa*".[1] Both the Brāhmaṇical and the Buddhist Tantras have conceived different code *mantrams* (*vīja-mantrams*) for invoking the presiding deities, and they believe that gods and goddesses incarnate as the code *mantrams*. According to Tāntric cult, the *vīja-mantrams* or seed-formulas are the symbols (*pratikas*) of the deities. Pantañjali has said in his *Yogasūtra* that the mystic word A-U-M represents the determinate Brahman. The Mimāṅsakas do not believe in any materialized form of the gods, and so they admit the existence of a mysterious power or potency (*apūrva*) in music. In music, thought or feeling, distilled in sound, becomes itself an independent object. It assumes a tune-form which is definite, but

1. Vide *Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs* (1948) p. 96.

contains a force, which is called '*apūrva*', and the *apūrva* offers boon to the *sādhakas*.

In Vedic time, the Ṛtvikas used to perform sacrifices, and they regarded the tongues of the blazing fires as the representatives (*pratinidhis*) of the gods and the goddesses. So the conception of the process of deification was a common practice in India. It is an iconographical process of personification or symbolization of the image-forms (*icons*), and this divine process is entirely based on psychological-cum-philosophical conception of music. The speculative process of philosophy of music designs an idea of the contemplative prayer-formulae of the Indian *rāgas*, and so the intuitive poets composed the *dhyānas* of *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* with colourful compositions, and the painters drew beautiful pictures of them. The emotional sentiments and moods are the states or modifications of the mind, and the mind being enlightened by the self-effulgent light of the Ātman, conceives, designs, and manifests music in the material form.

According to philosophy of music, the divine *psyche* or Ātman is the foundation (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of music. The *psyche* sings eternally the immortal song of the absolute music, which is formless and colourless in essence, and yet it manifests as phenomenal music with the gross raw materials of tone, tune, rhythm, grace, etc. The philosophy of music states that the absolute music is *subjective*, whereas its *objective* form is visual and audible phenomenal music. The *absolute* music is like the 'Idea' or 'Type' of Plato. It is the true Logos or divine 'Word' of the Christian theology. In the begining, there was a pure Idea in God and He created the manifold universe from within, and within Him there sleep all kinds of impression (*saṁskāras*) of the projection of

the world in potent form. The Vaiṣṇava mystics say that there is going on the supersensual music eternally in praise of the Divine glory of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the celestial ragion of immortal Vṛndāvan (Nitya-Vṛndāvan). That eternal celestial music is the *absolute music*. The absolute music is not, therefore, altogether inconceivable, but is conceivable through the medium of the concentrated and spiritual mind. Well has it been said by Prof. O. C. Gāṅgoly, regarding the absolute painting: "Absolute painting, though they represent nothing, evokes a disinterested aesthetic sensation, due to happy perception and contemplation of special relations, dimensions, proportions, accents, colour, value and rhythm inherent in the quality of design, claiming to attain the condition of music. But this demonstration of the quality of non-representative painting does not invalidate to capacity of the painter's craft to represent, delineate, or imitate nature or to render themes of human or emotional significance. And if music possesses, as it indeed does, in a large measure, the power of creating forms of 'pure emotional values', it is not incapable of rendering and expessing concepts evocative or human emotions". The phenomenal music, being the copy of the absolute music, contains within it the potentialities of divine nature and supra-mundane beauty of the absolute music. For this reason, the material tones and tunes also sing the song of the Divinity. Rabindranāth Tagore has said: 'For music, though it comprehends a limited number of notes, yet represents the infinite'. So the phenomenal music has infinite possibilities for revealing the inner nature of man, nay, for making mortal man the immortal god-man.

Poet Tagore has further said that music "is the most abstract of all arts, as mathematics is in the region of

science". It is sublime art as "the pure essence of expresiveness in existence is offered in music. In music, the feeling distilled in sound becomes itself an independent object. It assumes a tune-form which is definite but a meaning which is undefinable, and yet which grips our mind with a sense of absolute truth".

India is the land of spirituality. Here philosophy of music is looked upon as a spiritual *sādhanā*, which elevates and animates the level of man's consciousness, and kindles in the cave of his heart the perpetual light of the Divine knowledge, and makes him free from the den of delusion forever and ever. The intuitive authors of music of India are fully conscious of this secret, and have made music the best and purest means for attaining the God-realization. The philosophical foundation of music rests upon the solid rock of the realization of the immortal soul of music. Therefore, we should be educated to know that soul of music, because proper training and education can only harmonize the chords of the phenomenal music with those of the transcendental grand music of man. The artists as well as the art of music should, therefore, be raised upon the high level of spirituality, and they should be conscious of the grand truth of philosophy (*darśana-śāstra*) of India that man can see God face to face, can get an immediate awareness of the Absolute, as the task of philosophy of India is to solve the riddle of the universe and to discover the ways and means to man's perfection in life.

APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER XVI

1. About *dhvani* and *nāda* from Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī*:

यथानुभूतदेशाच्च ध्वनेः स्थानानुगादपि ।
ततो विन्दुस्ततो नादस्ततो मात्रास्त्वनुक्रमात् ॥४॥
वर्णास्तु मात्रकोद्भूता मात्रका द्विविधा मताः ।
स्वरव्यञ्जनरूपेण जगज्ज्योतिरिहोच्यते ॥५॥

* * *

ततो वाक्यानमहावाक्यं वेदा साङ्गा ह्यनुक्रमात् ।
वक्तास्ते ध्वनितः सर्वे ततो गान्धर्वसम्भवः ॥१०॥
ध्वनिर्योनिः परा ज्ञेया ध्वनिः सर्वस्य कारणम् ।
आक्रान्तं ध्वनिना सर्वं जगत् स्थावरजङ्गमम् ॥११॥
ध्वनिस्तु द्विविधः प्रोक्तो व्यक्ताव्यक्तविभागतः ।
वर्णोपलम्भनाद् व्यक्तो देशीमुखमुपागतः ॥१२॥

* * *

इदानीं सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि नादलक्षणमुत्तमम् ।
न नादेम विना गीतं न नादेन विना स्वराः ॥१६॥
न नादेन विना नृत्तं तस्मान्नादात्मकं जगत् ।
नादरूपः स्मृतो ब्रह्मा नादरूपो जनार्दनः ॥१७॥
नादरूपा पराशक्तिर्नादरूपो महेश्वरः ।
यदुक्तं ब्रह्मणः स्थानं ब्रह्मग्रन्थिश्च यः स्मृतः ॥१८॥
तन्मध्ये संस्थितः प्राणः प्राणाद् वह्निसमुद्गमः ।
वह्निमारुतसंयोगान्नादः समुपजायते ॥१९॥
नादादुत्पद्यते विन्दुर्नादात् मर्वं च वाङ्मयम् ।

* * *

नकारः प्राण इत्यान्दुर्दकारश्चानलो मतः ।
नादस्य द्विपदार्थोऽयं समीचीनो मयोदितः ॥२२॥

नादोऽयं नदतेर्धातोः स च पञ्चविधो भवेत् ।
सूक्ष्मश्चैवातिसूक्ष्मश्च व्यक्तोऽव्यक्तश्च कृत्रिमः ॥२३॥
सूक्ष्मो नादी गुहावासी हृदये चातिसूक्ष्मकः ।
कण्ठमध्ये स्थितो व्यक्तः अव्यक्तस्तालुदेशके ॥२४॥
कृत्रिमो मुखदेशे तु ज्ञेयः पञ्चविधो बुधैः ।
इति तावन्मया प्रोक्तो नादोत्पत्तिर्मनोहरा ॥२५॥

2. About *nāda* from Pārśvadeva's *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*:

न सिध्यति विना नादं तस्मान्नादात्मकं जगत् ।
नादात्मानस्त्रयो देवा ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः ॥१।२॥
नाभौ यद् ब्रह्मणः स्थानं ब्रह्मग्रन्थिश्च यो मतः ।
प्राणस्तन्मध्यवर्ती स्यादग्नेः प्राणात् समुद्भवः ॥३॥
अग्निमारुतयोर्योगाद् भवेन्नादस्य सम्भवः ।
नकारः प्राण इत्युक्तो दकारो वह्निरुच्यते ॥४॥

* * *

स च पञ्चविधो नादो मतङ्गमुनिसम्मतः ॥५॥

3. About *nāda* from Śāraṅgadeva's *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*:

(क) गीतं नादात्मकं वाद्यं नादव्यक्त्या प्रशस्यते ।
तद्द्वयानुगतं नृत्तं नादाधीनमतस्त्रयम् ॥१॥
नादेन व्यज्यते वर्णः पदं वर्णात्पदाद्वचः ।
वचसो व्यवहारोऽयं नादधीनमतो जगत् ॥२॥
आहतोऽनाहतश्चेति द्विधा नादो निगद्यते ।
सोऽयं प्रकाशते पिण्डे तस्मात्पिण्डोऽभिधीयते ॥३॥
अस्ति ब्रह्म चिदानन्दं स्वयंज्योतिर्निरञ्जनम् ।
ईश्वरं लिङ्गमित्युक्तमद्वितीयमजं विभु ॥४॥

निर्विकारं निराकारं सर्वेश्वरमनश्वरम् ।
सर्वशक्ति च सर्वज्ञं तदंशा जीवसंज्ञकाः ॥५॥

* * *

आत्मनः पूर्वमाकाशस्ततो वायुस्ततोऽनलः ॥१२॥
अनलाज्जलमेतस्मात् पृथिवी समजायत ।
महाभूतान्यमून्येषा विराजो ब्रह्मणस्तनुः ॥१३

—रत्नाकरः, द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ।

(ख) चैतन्यं सर्वभूतानां विवृत्तं जगतात्मना ।
नादब्रह्म तदानन्दमद्वितीयमुपास्महे ॥१॥
नादोपासनया देवा ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः ।
भवन्त्युपासिता नूनं यस्मादेते तदात्मकाः ॥२॥
आत्मा विवक्षमाणोऽयं मनः प्रेरयते मनः ।
देहस्थं वह्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥३॥
ब्रह्मग्रन्थिस्थितः सोऽथ क्रमादूर्ध्वपथे चरन् ।
नाभिहृत्कण्ठमूर्धास्येष्वाविर्भावयति ध्वनिम् ॥४॥
नादोऽतिसूक्ष्मः सूक्ष्मश्च पुष्टोऽपुष्टश्च कृत्रिमः ।
इति पञ्चविधा धत्ते पञ्चस्थानस्थितः क्रमात् ॥५॥
नकारं प्राणनामानं दकारमनलं विदुः ।
जातः प्राणाग्निसंयोगात्तेन नादोऽभिधीयते ॥६॥
व्यवहारे त्वसौ त्रेधा हृदि मन्द्रोऽभिधीयते ।
कण्ठे मध्यो मूर्ध्नि तारो द्विगुणश्चोत्तरोत्तरः ॥७॥
तस्य द्वाविंशतिर्भेदाः श्रवणाच्छ्रुतयो मताः ।

—रत्नाकरः, तृतीयोऽध्यायः ।

4. From Siṁhabhupāla's commentary:

(क) नादात्मकं नाद आत्मा स्वरूपं यस्य । वाद्यं वीणादि नादाभिव्यक्तैव प्रशस्यते रमनीतामुपैति । नृत्तं तद्द्वयानुगतम् , 'अङ्गेनालम्बयेद्गीतम्'

इत्युक्तत्वात् । अतः, त्रयं गीतनृत्तवाद्यरूपं नादाधीनं नादापेक्षमित्यर्थः । न केवलं गीतनृत्तवाद्यमेव नादापेक्षम् , अपि तु सर्वं जगदित्याह—नादेनेति । नादेन ध्वनिना वर्णः ककारादिर्व्यज्यते । कोऽयं ध्वनिः ? योऽयं वर्णविशेषम-प्रतिपद्यमानस्य दूरात्कर्णपथमवतरति मन्दत्वतीव्रत्वादिभेदं च वर्णेष्वासञ्जयति स ध्वनिरित्युच्यते । वर्णात्पदं घट इत्यादि । पदाद्वचो वाक्यं पदसमुदायः । वचसो वाक्याच्छब्दोऽयं व्यवहारः । अतः सर्वं जगदपि नादाधीन-मित्यर्थः । * * ।२।१-२

(ख) इति देहाभिधानं प्रतिज्ञाय तन्मूलकारणं कथयति—अस्तीति । सर्वदा सर्वत्रापि सत् , नित्यं व्यापकं चेत्यर्थः । ब्रह्म बृहत्वाद बृंहणत्वाद्वा । चिद्विज्ञानरूपम् , आनन्दं सुखस्वरूपम्, 'विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म' इति श्रुतेः । स्वयंज्योतिः स्वप्रकाशम् , 'तमेव भान्तमनुभाति विश्वं, तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति' इति श्रुतेः । निरञ्जनमविद्यालेपशून्यम् , अविद्याया जीवाश्रयत्वात् । ब्रह्माश्रयाविद्यापक्षेऽपि स्वाश्रयाव्यामोहकत्वं निरञ्जनपदेनोच्यते । ईश्वरं कर्तुम-कर्तुमन्यथा कर्तुं वा शक्तम् । लिङ्गं कारणम् । अद्वितीयं सजातीय-विजातीयस्वगतभेदशून्यम् । अजमकारणम् । विभु व्यापकं समर्थं वा । निर्विकारं जायतेऽस्ति वर्धते विपरिणमतेऽपक्षीयते विनश्यतीति यास्कोदित-सर्वविकारशून्यम् । निराकारं मूर्त्यनवच्छिन्नम् । सर्वेश्वरं सर्वेषां ब्रह्मादीना-मपि शासकम् । अनश्वरमविनाशि । सर्वशक्ति सर्वा सर्वस्य प्रपञ्चस्य कारणं या सा शक्तिर्मायाऽख्या विद्यतेऽस्मिन्निति । सर्वज्ञं सर्वविषयसाक्षात्कारवत् । तदंशास्तदभिन्नाः, यथाऽग्नेर्विस्फुलिङ्गा अग्नित्वेनाग्नेरभिन्नाः ; अथ वा 'अंशो नानाव्यपदेशात्' इति सूत्रोक्तत्वाज्जीवपरमात्मनोरंशांशित्वपक्षमेव स्वीकृत्योक्तम् ॥२।४-५

5. According to the ancient musicologists like Mataṅga, Pārśvadeva, Śāraṅgdeva and others, the microtones (*śrutis*) evolve from the causal sound, *nāda*. Regarding the process, Śāraṅgdeva has said:

जातः प्राणाग्निसंयोगात्तेन नादोऽभिधीयते ॥

व्यवहारे त्वसौ त्रेधा हृदि मन्द्रोऽभिधीयते ।
कण्ठे मध्यो मूर्ध्नि तारो द्विगुणश्चोत्तरोत्तरः ॥
तस्य द्वाविंशतिर्भेदाः श्रवणाच्छ्रुतयो यतः ।
हृद्यूर्ध्वनाडीसंलग्ना नाड्यो द्वाविंशतिर्मताः ॥

—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकरः १।३।७-८

॥ कल्लिनाथ ॥

प्राणनामानं प्राण इति नाम यस्यासौ प्राणनामा, तम्। एतेन मन्त्रशास्त्रानुसारतो वीजाक्षराणां तत्तद्देवताताद्रूप्यापत्त्याऽत्र नकारदकारौ प्राणाग्नी इत्युक्तं भवति। विदुः, मान्त्रिका इति शेषः। जात उदितः; अभिव्यक्त इति यावत्। उक्तपञ्चविधनादस्याप्यविशेषेण गीतोपयोगित्वे प्राप्ते, हृत्कण्ठमूर्ध-स्थानेष्वेव श्रुतिपदनाडीसद्भावात्तत्त्रयस्यैव नादत्रयस्य गीतोपयोगित्वम्। १।३-६

6. Regarding difference of opinion about the number of microtones as well as the variations in the musical sounds, Kallināth has said :

अन्ये त्विन्द्रियवैगुण्यात् त्रिविधं श्रुतिं मन्यन्ते। इन्द्रियवैगुण्यं च त्रिविधं सहजं दोषजमभिघातजं चेति। अत्रेन्द्रियं मनः। तत्र सत्त्वगुणयुक्तं सहजम्, रजस्तमोयुक्तं दोषजम्, अम्लादिरसोपहतमभिघातजमित्यर्थः। अपरे तु वातपित्तकफसंनिपातभेदभिन्नां चतुर्विधां श्रुतिं प्रतिपेदिरे। तथा चाह तुम्बुरुः—

उच्चैस्तरो ध्वनी रूक्षो विज्ञेयो वात्तजो बुधैः ।
गम्भीरो घनलीनस्तु ज्ञेयोऽसौ पित्तजो ध्वनिः ॥
स्निग्धश्च सुकुमारश्च मधुरः कफजो ध्वनिः ।
त्रयाणां गुणसंयुक्तो विज्ञेयः संनिपातजः ॥

इति। एते तु शब्दभेदत्वेन वक्ष्यन्ते। अपरे तु वेणवादयो मुनयो नवविधां श्रुतिं मन्यन्ते।

Musical tones and melodic types are sometimes interpreted with astromical, anatomical and Indian medical

(*āyurvedic*) terms, which really does not convey the philosophical idea of music. The philosophy of music is absolutely concerned with the basic or causal sound (*nāda*) and its true realization as the highest knowledge and existence which make the artist (*sādhaka*) free from the bondage of the delusive world.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PRIME OBJECT OF INDIAN MUSIC

We love music, but if it is asked as to why do we love music, we cannot give a satisfactory answer to it. If we say that we love music for our own satisfaction, the answer will not be correct. But it should be remembered that music is an art, which contains within it an universal appeal and an inner urge for expansion. Music conveys the idea of broadening our mind and intellect. It enlightens our soul for realizing the real import and value of art and life. So the culture of music does not require any suspension and limitation. It does not mean that we should be contented with practice of mere skeletons of *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*, which are framed out of the combination and permutation of tones, but we shall have to dive deep into the very core of the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*, and shall realize their true emotional aspect and spirit. We shall have to infuse life in them and make them dynamic and fit to be divinised and visualised in our intuitive vision.

Music is a system of education which imparts knowledge and experience as to how to elevate and animate the levels of consciousness. The world of ours seems to be very sweet in the outset, but it ultimately deludes us with its outward charms and grandeur. So the wise men remain apart from its fleeting beauty and go deep beneath the surface of it, and find solution of the mystery of their life.

Music is a gift or boon to human beings, because it

consoles the mind and helps the mind to concentrate and meditate upon a universal centre; makes men free from the fetters of false knowledge and ignorance, and bestows permanent peace and happiness even in this earthly life.

In the primitive society of the most ancient days, the uncivilized nomadic tribes, not only of India but also of all the countries of the world, used to sing and dance for consoling their heavy hearts and for mitigating cares and anxieties of their daily life. They used in their songs one, two or three notes, high, low and medium. Their songs were very simple. They used in those songs simple drums of wood and flutes of bamboo, wood or bone of animals. They used to dance with the rhythms of songs of charms, weather, marriage and other aspects of worldly life. The very walk of their life was accompanied with the sweet tunes of music and rhythmical cadences of dancing. In the civilized society too, music became the prime means to men's household life and to their peace and solace. So from the dim antiquity up till now, music has preserved its glorious march and tradition, and men find their hope and consolation of life in it.

But music requires a systematic study and sustaining striving. In the Vedic days, the sincere pupils used to sit at the feet of their wise teachers and take lessons in the spiritual knowledge, and this master-pupil (*guru-śiṣya*) tradition is being carried on in the field of study even to these days. Perfection (*siddhi*) in every aspect of life is always preceded by practice in its truest kind, and a man reaps his ripe harvest in the field if he sows the seeds in time. The childhood is the best time for taking training in culture of fine art of music, because habit and tendency

of a child are ready to receive all he gets in this time. It is the nature of a child to acquire new things from the surroundings and environments he lives in, and thus he expands the sphere of his knowledge and experience. The childhood is also an impressionable age of life. So, if a child is taught music properly by the experienced teachers, it never goes in vain. The impressions of learning music in the childhood remain deep in the bed of subconscious or unconscious mind, they rise again in the ripe age and help men to master over the subject. The tones and tunes of music create sweet sensations in the mind of the child, stimulate his physique and thus bring new energy and vigour in him. Then the mind of the child becomes a new centre of knowledge and intuition. A new vision is then opened to him with new hopes and aspirations, and the world of ours appears to him as entirely new.

The conception of a *rāga* is very deep and meaningful in Indian music. It gets into the softest corner of the minds of men, irrespective of caste, creed and colour. The tones create the melodic patterns with their colourful ascents and descents and with harmonic relations, together with *alaṁkāras*, *mūrcchanās*, *tānas* and ten essentials which bring life into music. According to the psychology of music, the microtones and tones are surcharged with aesthetic sentiments and moods, and they make the skeletal forms of the *rāgas* be impregnated with those qualities. So when men, women and children come in contact with tones and tunes of music, they are absorbed, and their dark deposites of the minds are slowly replaced by the bright ones, and their hearts are purified so as to receive the self-effulgent light of the immortal Ātman. The realization of the knowledge of the Ātman is the be-all and

end-all of all music artists and music lovers. The prime object of Indian music is, therefore, to get the blessed boon of the Divine knowledge that makes men free from the chain of delusion forever and ever.

But the present-day tendency of music culture seems to be commercial and deplorable, because it has confined itself within the walls of self-interest. It has also vitiated the taste and temperament of both the artists and the art-lovers. It should, therefore, be refined and viewed in its true perspective and colour. We should remember that as man's power and capacity are limited, it is not possible for him to meet all the requirements he wants in this world of desires. The Upaniṣad states that continual pouring of clarified butter into the fire cannot extinguish it, rather it enhances the flames. To extinguish the fire, water is necessary. So the culture of the art of music in terms of selfish interest may add to the acquisition of material prosperity, but cannot mitigate the real desire of one's mind. The real aim of man is to reach the goal of the Self-realization, and through the medium of music this achievement is fulfilled much sooner.

Let us remember always that the art of music is maintained and sustained only by the artist's sincere love for art, purity and perseverance. Teachers, environments and external guides can only help men to manifest the powers and experiences that lie latent in their subconscious mind. They are the best means or mediums. But we should remember that we ourselves are to unlock the door that confines the unfathomable beauty and greatness of music. Musicology always complies with the real ideal of music, and the artists and the art-lovers should always be conscious of this highest aim and object. India is

the land of spirituality and ecstatic joy, and every fine art of India, be it music, painting or sculpture, turns its face towards the lofty ideal of the achievement of unbounded joy and immortal bliss.

APPENDIX I

AN ANALYSIS OF MUSIC IN AN OLDEST PURĀṆA

Indian classical music has a very long history from dim antiquity, and the onward march of that history has not yet concluded, nor will it come to an end, so long as its science and art have life and force. It *is* bound to change and be modified, owing to the impact of changing circumstances and altering phases of the Indian mind. But amidst such changes and modifications, sincere and serious study of the treatises on music will enable us to discover the foundation, on which the cultural evolution of Indian music has been built up. We are still in the spade-work stage, and have to carry on research patiently and indefatigably.

A study of music in the Epics is most important and essential. History cannot afford to ignore the facts of this eventful Epic period. Many things of music that are now obsolete and dead, might be found to have been current in the Epic period. In the Great Epics like *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa*, we get ample materials of the *gāndharva* music. Different materials of music are found in the Epics like *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, *Vāyu-purāṇa*, *Agni-purāṇa*, *Vṛhaddharma-purāṇa*. *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, etc.

The *Purāṇas* are the documentary records of social customs and manners of the great Epic age. They are the evidences of social, political, educational, religious, philosophical and spiritual aspects of the then society. Rise and fall of the different clans and kingdoms with

their war and peace—conflict and amity—have built up the mythological history of the Hindus and other nations of the post-Buddhist India. Though most of the *Purāṇas* are recorded allegorically in an exaggerated way, yet they carry in them the historical truth and value.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa* can also be enlisted in the category of the *Purāṇas*. The *Harivaṁśa* is a supplement to the *Mahābhārata*. Some say that the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas* are merely the mythological interpretations giving in them no genuine facts and conveying no authenticity. But that is not true. Their putting is only in the mythological garb, but truth lies in them with all the historical significance and value. So the *Purāṇas* must be treated as history, and we should investigate and penetrate into them so as to explore the mysteries of the Epic India.

We are at present concerned with some of the notes on the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* that claims priority over all the *Purāṇas*. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, says Dr. Winternitz, "is one of the most important, most interesting, and probably one of the oldest works of the whole *Purāṇa* literature. Yet even this *Purāṇa* is no unified work, but consists of parts which vary in value and probably belong to different periods". Prof. S. Bhīmśaṅkara Rāo says: "*Brahma-purāṇa* stands first and it is called *Ādi-purāṇa*, and *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* stands 3rd in the list. Some are of the opinion that *Vāyu* was the oldest". It is said that the Tāmil lexicographer was familiar with the tradition that the *Śiva-purāṇa* was a *Mahā-purāṇa*. But Rāmachandra Dīkṣitar holds quite a different view. He says that in "priority of date, style, contents and the peculiar classification into four *padas*, the *Vāyu-purāṇa* can easily be ranked

as the *Mahā-purāṇa*". Prof. Fārquhar is of opinion that the *Mahā-purāṇas* are twenty in number, and in that respect both the *Vāyu* and the *Śiva Purāṇas* enjoy the status of the *Mahā-purāṇa*. But Rāmachandra Dikṣitar, like Dr. Winternitz, says that the *Purāṇas* really "constitute a work of various periods in succession. The *Purāṇas* were composed of facts with adjustments and re-adjustments in different periods covering several centuries".

It is said that Vyāsa after compiling the *Itihāsas* (histories) and the *Purāṇas* (mythologies), composed the *Mahābhārata* to complete his task in the domain of literature and learning. Vyāsa also admitted this view in the *Mahābhārata* (Ch: VIII, 34. 1498). But this admission, in our view, bears no strong historical evidence, as it is a fact that many of the *Purāṇas* borrow their materials both from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

Prof. Pargitar opines that the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* was the source of the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*. And in this way it can be shown by many parallel passages that all the *Purāṇas* are indebted to each other for their discussions. Again, it can be proved that most of the *Purāṇas* hold in them the traditions that have been developed at different centres of religious activity where local events were inserted subsequently. As for example, Prof. Bhīmśaṅkara Rāo mentions: "the *Brahma-purāṇa* represents Orissā version, the *Padma-purāṇa* that of Puṣkara, the *Agni-purāṇa* that of Gayā, the *Vāyu-purāṇa* that of Mathurā, the *Vāmana-purāṇa* that of Thaneśwar, the *Kūrma-purāṇa* that of Vārānasī, the *Matsya-purāṇa* that of the Nabada-Brāhmiṇs". So it is evident that the *Purāṇas* were composed or compiled in different times with the topics and annals of different

countries and dynasties. But Rāmachandra Dīkṣitar tells us that though "the composition of the *Purāṇas* is to be spread over a large expanse of time, covering some countries in the epoch of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, we already find some reference to a form of compositions allied to the *Purāṇas*". So he assumes that the earlier *Purāṇas* were composed at the last stage of the Vedic period, though it is impossible to determine the exact dates and definite natures of them at the present time.

Some are of the opinion that the earliest *Dharmaśāstras*, such as *Gautama* and *Āpastamba*, mention the names of the *Purāṇas*. By the time of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (4th century B.C.) it was counted as one of the subjects of studies for a royal prince. But it is true that the word '*Purāṇa*' is again found in the XV *maṇḍala* of the Atharvaveda and in the *Chāndogya-upaniṣad* (VII. 1.2). In the *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*, it is mentioned that Nārada, asked by Sanatkumāra, said that he studied the four Vedas and also the fifth Veda—the *Itihās* and the *Purāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and other subjects. So it can be concluded that the *Purāṇa* or *Purāṇas* won the priority over the Vedas and the *Upaniṣads*. But that is not possible.

Some scholars hold that the *Purāṇas* are prior to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* "with the exception of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and perhaps a few more". Again there rages a controvery as regards the priority of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The renowned South Indian historian Dr. Kṛṣṇaswāmī Iyeṅgār holds that the events of the *Rāmāyaṇa* took place after the great war of the *Mahābhārata*. That is, he is inclined to ascribe the date of the *Mahābhārata* prior to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But Dr. Winternitz has shown that though it is commonly

believed by many that "the *Mahābhārata* belongs to a ruder, more warlike age, while the *Rāmāyaṇa* shows traces of a more refined civilization", yet it can be proved that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is earlier than the *Mahābhārata* for many reasons.

Again Rāmachandra Dīkṣitar has said that from the closer study it is found that some of the *Purāṇas* are earlier than the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and even than the *Harivaṁśa*, the supplement to the *Mahābhārata*. Because it is seen that the *Purāṇas* never mention the name of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, whereas in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa*, the mention of the names of some of the *Purānas* can be found. Dr. Winternitz is of opinion that the "*Purāṇas* certainly existed already long before the final reduction of the *Mahābhārata*. ...... and the *Harivaṁśa* not only quotes the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, but in many places agrees literally with the *Vāyu-purāṇa* transmitted to us". The scholars like Holtzmann, Hopkins and Lüders also agree with Dr. Winternitz. Prof. Hopkins has mentioned that "the description in our *Vāyu-purāṇa* is more ancient than the one given in the *Mahābhārata*". Prof. Lüders has also proved that "the Ṛṣya-Śṛṅga-legend has an older form in the *Padma-purāṇa* than in the *Mahābhārata*". So Dr. Winternitz sums up from all the conclusions: "From all this it appears that *Purāṇas*, as a species of literature, existed long before the final reduction of the *Mahābhārata* and that even in the *Purāṇas* which have come down to us, there is much that is older than our present *Mahābhārata*".

Rāmachandra Dīkṣitar has further said: "A study of the *Purāṇas* shows that the earlier *Purāṇas* were composed in the period prior to the *Mahābhārata* and

Gautama Buddha, while the later *Purāṇas* were composed in the epoch following Buddha". Prof. Pargitar also admits that the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (III. 17, 8-18, 34, Cf. Pad. 'VI, 263, 67-70) has some accounts of Buddhism and Jainism. Prof. V. A. Smith has shown that "the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* is very reliable as regards the Maurya dynasty (326-185 B.C.) and the *Matsya-purāṇa* is also very reliable as regards the Andhra dynasty (which came to an end about 225 A.D.), whilst the *Vāyu-purāṇa* describes the rules of the Guptas, as it was under Chandra Gupta I (about 320-330 A.D.)". Rāmachandra Díkṣitar admits the views of Prof. Smith to same extent, and says that the "version of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, with regard to the Mauryan dynasty and of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* to the early Guptas, has found general acceptance among scholars. The *Vāyu* version of the Gupta rule is believed to be a description of the reign of Chandra Gupta I, who ruled Magadha from 320-330 A.D.". So from this it can be concluded that most of the *Purāṇas* contain account of the genealogies of the kings. They contain the genealogy of the Anava, Paurava, North Pāñcāla, Kānyakubja, Kāśī, and the Ikṣvāku dynasties. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* gives in detail the early history of the Vaiśāla dynasty (Ch: 113-36).

The etymology of the term '*Purāṇa*' has been furnished by the *Vāyu-purāṇa* as '*yasmāt purā hi anatidaṃ purāṇam*,' i.e. 'that which lives from ancient times is known as *Purāṇa*'. The general characteristics of the *Purāṇas* are of five kinds, and they are:

Sargaśca pratisargaśca vaṁśomanvantarāni ca/
Vaṁśānucaritaṃ ceti lakṣaṇānāṃ tu pañcakaṃ//

The *Purāṇas* must contain five kinds of characteristics

(*lakṣaṇas*) and those characteristics are: primary creation, secondary creation, genealogy of gods and patriarchs, period of Manus, and the history of princes of solar and lunar dynasties and of their descendants. However Dr. Winternitz lends his ultimate view as regards the date of the *Purāṇas* as: "All that we can safely conclude is that the earlier *Purāṇas* must have come into being before the 7th century, for neither later dynasties nor later famous rulers such as, for instance, Harṣa occurs in the list of kings. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* is one of the eighteen *Purāṇas*. To enumerate them in the order it can be shown: (1) *Brahma*, (2) *Padma*, (3) *Vaiṣṇava*, (4) *Śaiva* or *Vāyavīya*, (5) *Bhagavata*, (6) *Nāradīya*, (7) *Mārkaṇḍeya*, (8) *Āgneya*, (9) *Bhaviṣya* or *Bhaviṣyat*, (10) *Brahmavaivarta*, (11) *Liṅga*, (12) *Varāha*, (13) *Skandha*, (14) *Vāmana*, (15) *Kūrma*, (16) *Matsya*, (17) *Garuḍa*, (18) *Brahmāṇḍa*. The *Mārkāṇḍeya-purāṇa* has been designated after the name of the sage Mārkaṇḍeya. In this *Purāṇa*, the deities like Indra and Brahmā have taken more prominent part than Viṣṇu or Śiva. The Vedic deities like Varuṇa, Mitra, Pṛthivī and Agni have played their roles in some portion. According to Pargitar, the oldest part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* "may belong to the third century A.D., but may perhaps be earlier". Dr. Winternitz mentions that in the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, the portion of the *Devi-māhātmya* has been inserted in later time than the 6th century A.D.

Now let us discuss about the materials of music that are depicted in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* and analyse that of music therein. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* is divided into 237 chapters, and only a portion of the 23rd chapter (Beng. ed. 23rd and Bombay ed. 28th) has been devoted to the discussion of music. Besides, there are some discussions on

dancing, singing and drumming (*nṛtta*, *gīta*, *vādya*) in other chapters (Beng. 149 and Bombay 154, etc.). The main discussion on music begins with an allegorical dialogue between the serpent-king Aśvatara and his brother Kambala on one side, and the Goddess of Learning or Devī Sarasvatī on the other. The names of the kings, Aśvatara and Kambala occur also in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṁśa* and other *Purāṇas*. In Śārangdeva's *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (1210-1247 A.D.), we find the mention of "*kambalāśvatarastathā*" (1.16). In the *Mahābhārata* (300 B.C.), we get the names of Kambala, Aśvatara and Kāliya together: "*kambalāśvatarau cāpi nāgaḥ kāliyastathā*" (1.35.10). Śārangdeva has mentioned also the names of Kambala and Aśvatara, while he determines the *jāti* or genus of music. As for example, he says.

> Etadalpa-ni-gāsvāhuḥ kambalaśvatarādayaḥ//
> Alpa-dvi-śrutike rāgabhāṣā'dāvapi tanmataṃ/
>
> —S.R. 1.7.22-23

Kallināth (1446-1465 A.D.) has quoted here the views of Bharata, and says: "*pañcamī-madhyamā iti bharata-matānusāriṇā vacanena, 'etadalpa-ni-gāsu' iti kambalāśvatarādi-matānusāriṇā vacanena*" (vide SR. Poonā ed., p. 78: Adyār ed., vol. 1 p. 117). Siṁhabhupāla (1220 A.D.) has also mentioned: "*alpa-niṣāda-gāndhāre rāgabhāṣādāvapi svarasādhāraṇaṃ proyoktyamiti teṣām kambalāśvatarādīnāṃ mataṃ*" (vide SR. [Adyar ed.], Vol. I, p. 178). From this it is clear that Aśvatara and Kambala wrote some authoritative books on music and we often find them to be referred by the ancient authors. We notice that like Kohala and Dattila, and Nārada and Tumburu, the names of Aśvatara and Kambala are also mentioned together

in many places, as the 'old authors' on Indian music ('*vṛddha saṁgitācāryās*').

The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* describes that the king Aśvatara made a severe penance for many years together. He seems to belong to the Nāga dynasty (*nāga-vaṁśa*). The Nāga dynasty is considered to be one of the branches of the Scythian race. "The Nāgas", says Prācyavidyā-mahārṇava N. N. Basu, "spread their influence not only over India, but also at one time over whole of the civilized world. Alexander the Great observed dragon-worship and the influence of serpent-worshippers in the Punjab" (vide *The Archaeological Survey of Mayūrbhañja*, Vol. I. p. XXXV. Cf. also Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. II. p. 9). Prof. Fergusson says that he noticed a picture of some serpent-worshippers, curved in stone, in the east gate of Sānchi (vide *The Serpent-Worship*. p. 33). Prof. Grünwedle also admits it (vide the *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 62). The Chinese traveller Yuāṅ Chawāng has mentioned it in his travelling records (vide Watter's *On Yuāṅ Chawāng*, Vol. II, p. 133). Before the reign of the Nanda Kings, the Nāga dynasty was in existence in India, and it is not definitely known whether the dynasty was connected with the Śiśunāga dynasty. In the Pāli literature and the *Purāṇas*, the names of the nine Nandas are traceable. Dr. B. M. Baruā is of opinion that after 140 years of the passing away (*mahāparinivvāṇa*) of Gautama Buddha (probably in 348 or 347 B.C.) the Śiśunāga or Śaiśaṅāga dynasty was extinct (vide *Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 41-42). Dr. B.C. Lāhā says that the Śiśunāga dynasty was established before 600 B.C. or perhaps in 642 B.C., by a chieftain of Vārānasī, named Śiśunāga, who fixed his capital at Girivraja or Rājgṛha (vide *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 199). Again

it is found in the history that the Nāga King 'Champeya' established his kingdom on the bank of the Champā that runs between Aṅga and Magadh.

The serpent-king Aśvatara was very fond of music. His intense longing for knowledge in the art and science of music made him take a vow of severe penance, for getting a boon from the Goddess of Learning. The Goddess was very pleased with his austerity. She appeared before him and offered him a sacred boon.: "*evaṃ stutā tadā devī viṣṇurjihvā sarasvatī*". She said to the king Aśvatara,

Varaṃ te kambala-bhrātaḥ prayacchāmyuragādhipa/
Taducyatāṃ pradāsyāmi yat te manasi vartate//

'O king of the serpents and the brother of Kambala, I have been pleased with you. I wish to confer upon you a boon. So my son, ask whatever you desire'. Asvatara was very glad to see his vow fulfilled. His heart was moved by the sweet and affectionate words of Devī Sarasvatī. He said to the Goddess with awe and reverence:

Sahāyaṃ dehi devī tvaṃ pūrvaṃ kambalameva me/
Samasta-svara-samvandhamubhayoḥ saṁprayaccha ca/

'O Devi, if you are pleased with me, at first make my brother Kambala a constant companion of me, and then bestow upon both of us the divine boon of art of music by means of which we two can master all the science and knowledge of notes'.

Now it may be asked who was Devī Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning? In the *Saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, Sarasvatī has been described as 'a river' ('*nadī-rūpā*') like Dṛṣadvatī, Indus (*Sindhu*), etc. Most of the European scholars have interpreted the word 'Sarasvatī' as the river. In the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (3.2.4.2.7), we find an allusion

of the stealing of the Soma creapers (*somalatā*) by the semi-divine music-loving Gandharvas. The Gandharvas, it is said, were the dwellers of the North-West Province of India. The ancient musicologists like Nārada, Tumburu, Hāhā and Huhu, Viśvavasu, Aśvatara and Kambala were all included in the stock of the Gandharva. The allusion in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* proves that the Gandharvas were the born musicians, and they practised traditionally the *gāndharva* type of music that evolved in the beginning of the classical period in the 600-500 B.C. out of the remains of the Vedic music, *sāmagāna*. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, the Goddess of Learning has been called as the 'tongue of Viṣṇu' (*'viṣṇu-jihvā-sarasvatī*"). In the Vedic period, the sacrificial fire (*Agni*) was conceived as the sun of the nether world (*pṛthvī*). The sun in the sky was conceived as Mithra or Mitra (universal friend of the world) and the sky, as Varuṇa or the 'ocean of milk' (*kṣiroda-samudra*). The sun is worshipped from very ancient times, and gradually it was conceived as the presiding deity of the sacrifice. Consequently the sun was looked upon on the earth as 'fire' or *Agni*. Gradually the fire (*Agni*) was considered as the representative (*pratinidhi*) of the sun in the sky. With the evolution of the anthropomorphic ideas of the gods and the goddesses, both the sun and the fire were conceived as Viṣṇu. As the sun pervades the whole universe with its rays, so Viṣṇu pervades everything phenomenal with his sublime glory and magnanimity. In the Epic literature, we find the allusion of Trivikrama or Vāmana, who stretching his three legs, covered or pervaded the three worlds, while accepting the boon from demon king Vali. Vāmana's three legs represent the three regions (*lokas*), earth, etherial space or sky and heaven (*bhuḥ*, *bhuvaḥ* and *svaḥ*), which again convey the idea of all-perva-

siveness (*sarva-vyāpakatvaṃ*). The mythological god, Trivikrama or Vāmana has been conceived as the divine incarnation of Viṣṇu or the sun. So the significance of the word '*Viṣṇu*' holds the same idea of all-pervasiveness. The rays of the sun, together with the flames of the sacred sacrificial fire, were conceived as the 'tongues'. The Goddess of Learning (Sarasvatī) was afterwards considered as one of the presiding deities, being identified with the sacrificial fire. Therefore the word '*viṣṇu-jihvā*' became an epithet of Devī Sarasvatī. Sarasvatī was also conceived as the presiding deity (*adhiṣṭhātrī devī*) of all kinds of learning and Fine Arts.

Therefore Devī Sarasvatī, as an embodiment of the rays of the sun or flames of the fire, being earnestly asked by the king of Gandharva, Aśvatara, for proficiency in the art and science of music, granted the prayer, and said with a smile 'be it so' ('*tathāstu*'). The Goddess then bestowed the desired boon upon Aśvatara and Kambala, saying,

Sapta-svarā grāmarāgāḥ sapta pannaga-sattama/
Gītakāni sa saptaiva tavatīścapi[1] mūrcchanāḥ//
Tānāścaikonapañcāśat[2] tathā grāmatrayañca yat/
Etat sarvaṃ bhavān gātā[3] kambalaśca tathānagha[4]/
Jñāsyase mat-prasādena bhujagendraparaṃ tathā/
Caturvidhaṃ padaṃ[5] tālaṃ[6] tri-prakāraṃ layatrayaṃ//
Yatitrayaṃ[7] tathā todyaṃ[8] mayā dattaṃ caturvidhaṃ/

* * * *

The alternative readings:

1 *tavatyaścāpi.*
2 *tālaścaikonapañcāśat.*
3 *vetta.*
4 *kabalaścaiva te nādya.*
5 *paraṃ.*
6 *kālaṃ.*
7 *gīta-trayaṃ.*
8 *kālaṃ.*

Asyāntargatamāyattaṃ svara-vyñjāna-sammitaṃ/[9]
Tadāśeṣaṃ mayā dattaṃ bhavataḥ kambalasya ca//
Tathā nānyasya bhurloke pātāle cāpi pannaga/
Praṇetārau bhavantau ca sarvasyāsya bhaviṣyataḥ/
Pātāle devaloke ca bhurloke caiva pannagau//

"O king of the serpents, both you and your brother Kambala will be able to master the seven notes, seven *grāmarāgas*, fifty-nine *tānas*, and three *grāmas*. Moreover, I bestow upon you the boons of getting efficiency in four *padas*, three *tālas*, three *yatis*, and four *todyas* (*ātodyas*). By my benediction and grace, both of you will be able to acquire the knowledge of these arts, their vowels and consonants. I am pleased to bestow all these boons upon you and your brother Kambala. Now I have given everything to you and your brother. In heaven, human world and nether-world—everywhere you will be honoured".

On a perusal of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, we find the names of the seven *laukika* notes, *ṣaḍja*, *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhāra*, *madhyama*, *pañcama*, *dhaivata and niṣāda*, as opposed to the *vaidika* ones. The 6th-5th century B.C. was an epoch-making period, as the Vedic music was replaced by the newly devised *gāndharva* type of music at that time. A demarcating line has been drawn in the history of India between the music, *vaidika* and the *laukika*. The *vaidika* or Vedic music, *sāmagāna*, with its variants were sung with the seven notes, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *caturtha*, *mandra*, *atisārya* and *kruṣṭa*. The pioneering dramatist and musicologist Brahmābharata (commonly known as Brahmā, Druhina, Pitāmaha, etc.) was credited to have devised the *gāndharva* music. As most of the materials of the *gāndharva*

9 *svaravyañjanayośca yat.*

music was sought for and collected by him, it was known as '*mārga*' (*mṛg—anveṣaṇe*). The microtones (*śrutis*) being considered as the (subtle) notes, the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* does not feel to mention them separately.

It has been said before that the seven *gramarāgas* are *śadava*, *pañcama*, *madhyamagrāma*, *ṣadjagrāma*, *sādhārita*, *kaiśika-madhyama* and *kaiśika*. In fact the *grāmarāgas* are six in number, as the *kaiśika-madhyama* and *kaiśaka* are one and the same *rāga*. As the *rāgas* have their foundations in the basic scales, *ṣaḍjagrāma* and *madhyamagrāma*, they are known as the '*grāmarāgas*'. They evolved out of the *jātis* i.e. *jātirāgas*: "*jātisambhūtatvāt grāmarāgāṇi*". The *jātis* or cast melodies are the primal *rāgas*. They have also been mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (4th canto). The wandering Bards, Lava and Kuśa used to sing the *Rāmāyaṇa-gāna*, added with pure type of *jātirāgas* (*śuddha-jātis*). They were seven in number, and were known as the *gāndharva* music. Out of them, six *grāmarāgas* evolved during 400-200 B.C. as we find them in the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivāmśa*, and they were even played in the *gāndhāra-grām*: '*ā-gāndhāra-grāmarāgaṃ gaṅgāvataraṇaṃ tathā*" (vide HV. *Viṣṇuparvaṃ*, 89 canto). In the *Nāradīśikṣā* (1st century A.D.), Nārada has mentioned seven types of *grāmarāga*, as have been mentioned before. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (3rd-5th century A.D.), we find also seven kinds of *grāmarāga*, and it seems that the author of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* has followed Nārada of the *Śikṣā*. These seven *grāmarāgas* are also supported by the Kudimiyāmālai Stone Inscription, installed by Rājā Madendravarman in the seventh century A.D. The seven kinds of tonal arrangements are also found in the seven *grāmarāgas*, as evidenced by the Rock-Inscription.

The seven *gītis*, as mentioned by the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, are the *rāgagītis* or *rāgas* by themselves. Bharata deals with the *gītis* like *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, etc., which were used in the stage songs, *dhruvā-gītis*. But Mataṅga (5th-7th century A.D.) has fully described the seven *gītis*, which were described in terms of the *rāgas*. Mataṅga says that the *gītis* were: *śuddhā*. *bhinnā* or *bhinnakā*, *gauḍī* or *gauḍikā*, *rāga*, *sādhāraṇī*, *bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā* or *vibhāṣikā*. There are controversies regarding the number of the *gītis* (*rāgagītis*) among the ancient musicologists like Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Śārdula, Dūrgāśakti and others. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* has followed the method of Mataṅga of the *Bṛhaddeśī*. From the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (early 13th century) we come to know that there were other kinds of *gītis* like *brahmagīti*, *kapālagīti*, etc., which were devised, it is said, by Brahmā or Brahmābharata in the pre-Christian era. Śāraṅgdeva has also described the seven *gītis* like *ṛc*, *gāthā*, *pāṇika*, etc., but the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* is not concerned with those seven types of the *gāndharva-gīti*.

It may be taken that during the time of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (3rd-5th century A. D.), *gāndhāragrāma* was absolutely out of practice, and so, when he says about the seven *mūrcchanās*, it should be taken that it describes seven *mūrcchanās* of the *ṣaḍjagrāma* and the *madhyamagrāma*, which were current in its time. But it is interesting to mention that the author of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* has also mentioned the names of the three basic scales, *ṣaḍja*, *gāndhāra* and *madhyama*. Muni Mārkaṇḍeya has said,

Tato hāhā-huhuścaiva nāradastumburustathā/
Upagāyitumārabdhā gāndharvaṃkuśalāravim/
Ṣaḍja-madhyama-gāndhāra-grāmatraya-viśāradāḥ/

Mūrcchanābhiśca tānālīśca[1] samprayogaiḥ sukha-
pradaṃ//
—(106 canto)

From the text it may be assumed that the *gāndhāra-grāma* was also in practice in the time of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* and consequently its *tānas* and *mūrcchanās*. But from the evidence of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* we know that in the beginning of the Christian era, the *gāndhāragrāma* was obsolete in the society, though the practice of the *gāndharva* type of music was current: '*gāndharvaṃ kuśalaraviṃ*'.

The *mūrcchanās* of the *ṣaḍjagrāma* are: *uttaramandrā, rajanī, uttarāyatā, aśvakrāntā, abhirudgatā, matsarikṛtā* and *śuddha-ṣaḍja*, whereas those of the *madhyamagrāma* are: *sauvirī, hariṇāśvā, kalopanatā, śuddha-madhyā, mārgvī, pauravī* and *hṛṣyakā*. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* admits the forty-nine *tānas*: "*tānāścaikonapañcāśat.*" Bharata differs from it. Bharata has described eighty-four *tānas*: "*tānaś-caturaśīti*". Dattila follows Bharata, and says that the *tānas* can be classified into three categories, complete (*pūrṇa*), incomplete (*apūrṇa*) and intricate (*kūṭa*). But it is interesting to note that Nārada (1st century A. D.) describes, in the *Sikṣā*, the forty-nine *tānas* of three *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja, gāndhāra* and *madhyama*. He admits 14 in *ṣaḍja-grāma* + 20 in *madhyamagrāma* + 15 in *gāndhāragrāma* = 49 *tānas*. Viṣṇuśarmā also admits in the *Pañcatantra* (2nd-5th century A. D.) fourty-nine *tānas*: "*tānāstekonapañcāśat*".

The author of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* states like Nārada (of the *Śīkṣā*): "*grāmatrayañca*" i.e., there are three ancient scales or *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja, madhyama* and *gāndhāra*. But from Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* we know that the *gāndhāragrama*

1 Different reading : *tālaiśca*.

was obsolete from the beginning of the Christian era. Regarding the type of composition, the *Purāṇa* states: "*caturvidhaṃ padaṃ*" i. e., the *padas* are four in number, and Bharata is of opinion that everything, which is composed of letters, is known as *pada*. The *pada* makes the notes and tempi manifest, and so it is known also as '*vastu*': "*padaṃ tasya bhaved-vastu svara-tālānubhāvakaṃ*". Bharata divides *pada* first into two, *nibaddha* and *anibaddha*, and then into *satāla* (with rhythm) and *atāla* (without rhythm), Bharata says:

Nibaddhañcānibaddhañca tat padaṃ dvividhaṃ smṛtaṃ/
Atālañca satālañca dvi-prakārañca tadbhavet//

Śāraṅgdeva admits this division of the *pada*, and says that the *satāla nibaddha padas* are possessed of four music-parts (*dhātus*), six limbs (*ṣaḍaṅga*=*svara*, *viruda*, *pāṭa*, etc.), and *atāla anibaddha pada* is known as an *ālapti* or *ālāpa*. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* probably considers those *nibaddha* and *anibaddha* and *satala* and *atala padas* as four in number. But Bharata and Śāraṅgdeva have classified them into two groups, *satāla-nibaddha* and *atāla-nibaddha*, though they appear as four in number.

By *tālaṃ* the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* means the 'rhythm' which is of four kinds and they are: *āvāpa*, *niṣkrāma*, *vikṣepa*, and *praveśaka*. Those rhythms (*tālas*) create three kinds of tempo, and they were slow (*vilamvita*), medium (*madhya*) and quick (*druta*). The *Purāṇa* admits these three tempi ("*laya-trayaṃ*"). Regarding *prakāra*, *yati* and *todya* i. e., *ātodya*, the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* admits three kinds of *prakāra*, three kinds of *yati* and four kinds of *ātodya*, which were current in its time. The three kinds of *yati* are: *samā*, *srotogatā*, and *gopucchā*, and four kinds

of *ātodya* are: *tata, suṣira, ānaddha* and *ghana*.[1] The *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* of Śubhaṅkara (middle of the sixteenth century) states,

Tamānaddhañca suṣiraṃ ghanamiti caturvidhaṃ/
Tataṃ veeṇādikaṃ vādyamānaddaṃ murajādikaṃ/,
Vaṁsyādikastu suṣiraṃ kāṅsya-tālādikaṃ ghanaṃ//,

The word '*ātodya*' signifies the musical instruments, and they are divided into four classes, *tata* i. e. the musical instruments that are played with the help of steel or gutted strings like *veeṇā*, and *veeṇa* class of instruments, *saroda* or *saroda-veeṇā*, *tamburā* or *tumburu-veeṇā*, *sitāra* or *saptatantrī-veeṇā*, etc.; (2) *suṣira* or wind instruments; like *veṇu, śaṅkha, vaṁśī, gomukha, śiṅgā*, etc.; (3) *ānaddha* or skin-covered instruments like different kinds of drums, and (4) *ghana* or the instruments, made up of iron or brass like cymbal, etc.

Besides the vocal music, the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* describes different kinds of musical instruments and the art of dancing. Regarding musical instruments, the *Purāṇa* states,

(a) Veeṇā-veṇu-mṛdaṅgānātodyasya parigrahaṃ/,
Karoti gāyatāṃ vittaṃ: nṛtyatāñca prayacchati/
(68 canto)

(b) Prāvādyanta tatastara veṇu-veeṇādi-dardarāḥ/,
Prṇavā puṣkarāścaiva mṛdaṅgāḥ patahānakāḥ//,
Devadundubhayaḥ śaṅkhāḥ śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ/,
Gāyadbhiścaiva gandharvai-rnṛtyadbhiścāpsaroga-
ṇaiḥ/,
Turya-vāditra-ghoṣaiśca sarvaṃ kolāhalīkṛtaṃ/,
(106 canto)

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1 These have been fully described in Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra*.

(c) Jaguḥ kecit tathaivānye mṛdaṅga-paṭahānakān//
Avādayanta caivānye veṇu-veeṇādikaṁstathā//
(128 canto)

From these *ślokas* we come to know that various kinds of musical instruments like *veṇu*, *veeṇā*, *dardura*, *paṇava*, *puṣkara mṛdaṅga*, *paṭaha*, *deva-dundubhi*, *śaṅkha* etc. were used at that time. The art of dancing was prevalent among both classes of people, aristrocratic and common. The dancing was also pratised by the ladies of the harem. In the Royal courts, the dancing girls had free access. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* states:

(a) Pragīta-gandharvagaṇāḥ pranṛttāpsarasāṁgaṇāḥ/
Hāra-nūpura-mādhurya-śobhitānyuttamāni ca//
(10 canto)

(b) Viśvācī ca ghṛtācī ca urvaśyatha tilottamā/
Menakā sahajanyā ca rambhāścāpsarasāṃ varāḥ//
Nanṛtu-rjagatāmīśe likhyamāne' vibhāvasau/
Hāva-bhāva-vilāsaḍhyān kurvantyo' bhinayān vahūn//
(106 canto)

From these it is evident that the dancing girls like Tilottamā, Rambhā, Viśvācī and others used to take part in the dramatic plays. Their dances were accompanied with different gestures and postures and aesthetic sentiment and moods.

Now we find that the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* furnishes us with the materials of music that were traditionally cultured from very ancient time. The type of music practised was purely *gāndharva*, though some of the regional (*deśi*) materials are found mentioned in the *Purāṇa*. It is a historical fact that during the time of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, the work of formalization of the aboriginal regional tunes had begun, and some of the non-Aryan tunes also got

into the stock of the Aryans. However scanty may be the materials of music in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, their historical value and importance are immense. The Epics are the fountain-head of inspiration, and they supply us the materials of music to compile a reliable history of Indian music. We should, therefore, study the Epics and analyze the ingredients of music therein, which will enable us to have a synthetic vision to get into the realm of cultural history of glorious India.

APPENDIX II

MAṄGALAGĪTI: ITS SIGNIFICANCE AND FORM

Most of the historians are inclined to ascribe the time of Mahākavi Kālidās between 150 B.C. and 400 or 450 A.D. In Kālidāsa's different poetical works and dramas (*kāvyas* and *nāṭakas*), we come across the words, *maṅgala-gīti* and *gītamaṅgala*. To cite one or two examples of them, Kālidās has mentioned:

(a) mūrcchanā-parigṛhita kaiśikaiḥ kinnarairuṣasi
gītamaṅgalaḥ" /—*Kumārasambhava*, 8.85.

(b) sambhāvitānāṃ girirājaputryā gṛhe'bhavan-
maṅgalagitakāpi//—*Kumārasambhava*, 11.33.

That is, 'when the *kinnaras* were engaged in singing the *maṅgalagīti* with the help of the *rāga kaiśika* and impregnated with *mūrchanā* at day-break, Śiva, who was most worthy of being praised and worshipped by the wise ones, awoke with the blossoming of the hundred petaled golden lotus', etc. Now, this *maṅgalagīti* and *gītamaṅgala* were no other than the sacred *maṅgalācaraṇa-gīti*. Kālidās has mentioned that the *maṅgalagīti* used to be sung with the *rāga* (*grāma-rāga*) *kaiśika*, consisting of a *mūrcchanā*. It is a historical fact that from the time of Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* fame (2nd century A.D.) down to that of Paṇḍit Dāmodara of the *Saṁgīta-darpaṇa* (15th-16th century A.D.) the *rāgas* used to be determined by their respective *mūrcchanās*. A *mūrcchanā* is a structure of seven tones with their ascending and descending series ("*svarānāmārohakrama mūrcchanā*"). Śāraṅgdeva of the early 13th century A.D. has dealt elaborately with the varieties of *mūrcchanā* of the three *grāmas*,

and before Śāraṅgdeva, Bharata, Mataṅga, Pārśvadeva and other ancient dramatists and musicologists have fully dealt with the problem of *mūrcchanā*. We know from Śāraṅgdeva's *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* that the *rāga kaiśika* was possessed of *gāndhārādi-mūrcchanā*. The *rāga kaiśika* used to manifest itself in different forms like *śuddha-kaiśika*, *ṣaḍja-kaiśika*, *mālava-kaiśika*, *ṭhakka-kaiśika*, *boṭṭa-kaiśika*, *bhinna-kaiśika-madhyama*, *gauḍa-kaiśika*, etc. Kālidās was fully aware of importance and utility of the *mūrcchanās* of the *rāgas*, and so wherever he has mentioned some *rāgas*, *grāmas* and *gānas*, he has used the word *mūrcchanā* to make them explicit. As for example, while describing the deplorable condition of the departed wife of the exiled Yakṣa, he has mentioned about the *mūrcchanā* of the *gāndhāragrāma*, which was appiled by the Yakṣiṇī for *ābhicārika* purpose on the wires of the *veeṇā*: "*nikṣipya veeṇāṃ* . . . *mūrcchanāṃ vismarantī*".

Now the *gītamaṅgala*, that occurs in the *śloka*: "*mūrcchanā parigribita kaiśikaiḥ*" etc. was actually the *nibaddha prabandha-gāna*. Śāraṅgdeva has described in the fourth *prabandha* chapter of the SR. that the *prabandas* were mainly of three kinds, and they were: *sūḍa* or *mārga-sūḍa*, *āli* or *āli-saṁśraya* and *viprakīrṇa* (SR. IV. 22). The *viprakīrṇa-prabandha* was of thirty-six varieties, and they were: *elā*, *karaṇa*, *ḍheṅkī*, . . . *dvipadī*. *catuṣpadī*, *carcarī* or *cāñcara*, *caryā*, *paddhaḍī*, *rāhaḍī*, *viraśrī*, *maṅgalācaraṇa*, *dhavala*, *maṅgala*, etc. (SR. IV. 23-32). The *nāma-kīrtana*, introduced by Śrī Chaitanya in the 1485-1533 A.D., and the *rasa* or *līlā kīrtana*, innovated by Thākur Narottamadās in the 16th century A.D., were no other than the *karaṇa-prabandha-gāna*, as described by Śāraṅgdeva. Even Thākur Jayadeva (12th century A.D.),

Baḍu Chaṇḍidās (early 14th century A.D.), Thākur Vidyāpati (14th century), and other Vaiṣṇava savants composed many *dohās* and *padāvalīs* in *avahaṭṭha-saurasenī-vaṅga* or *vaṅga-maithilī* languages before Śrī Chaitanya, and they were known as classical type of *karaṇa-prabandhagāna*. The *nāṭagīti* of Bengal, composed in the *avahaṭṭha* language, was also known as the *prabandhā-gīti*. The Carṇāṭaka composers like Achalānandadās (15th century A.D.), Narahari-tīrtha (13th century), Śrīpadarāja (third quarter of the 15th century), Vyāsarāja (15th century), Vāḍirāja (1480 A.D.), Purandaradās (1484 A.D.), Tyāgarāja, Muthusvāmī Dīkṣitar, Śyāmā Śāstrī and others composed songs which were known as the classical *kīrtana-prabandha-gāna*. The *karaṇa-prabandha* is of nine kinds, and accordingly for their special features they were again divided into three main classes, *maṅgalārambha*, *ānandavardhana* and *kīrtipūrvikā laharī* or *kīrtilaharī* (SR. IV. 142). The last one, *kīrtilaharī-karaṇa-prabandha* was designed after the form of *kīrtana* or *padāvalī-kīrtana*. The *gīta-maṅgala* or *maṅgalagīti* was also included into the category of the *prabandha-gīti*.

Besides the *maṅgalagīti*, Kālidās has mentioned in his different *Kāvyas* the names of the *prabandhas* like *cacarī*, *caryā*, *jambhalikā*, etc. The *cacarī-prabandha* or *cāñcara* used to be sung on the occasion of *holī* festival in the spiring season: "*sā vasantotsave geyā cacarī prākṛtaiḥ padai*" (SR. IV. 290-291). The *caryā* was purely spiritual: "*adyātma-gocarāḥ caryāḥ*" (SR. IV. 4. 292). In the 950-1200 A.D., the Sahajayānī and Vajrayānī mystic Yogīs of the Buddhist, Jain and Nātha sects composed many *dohās* (*caryās*) in code language (*sandhyā-bhāṣā*), and they were known as the *padas* i.e. *nathagītis* and *caryāpadas*. The

dhavala and *maṅgala gītis* were also spiritual in their nature. Śārangdeva has mentioned about them in connection with the *dhavala-prabandha-gāna*: "*āśīrbhir-dhavala-geyo dhavalādi-padānvitaḥ*" (SR. IV. 302), i.e. the *dhavala-prabandha* used to be sung with the word of blessings and *dhavala* verses, The *maṅgala-prabandha* used to be sung either with the *rāga kaiśika* (or *kaiśiki*) or *boṭṭa* (or *bhoṭṭa*), consisting of *maṅgala* verses (*padas*) in a slow tempo (*vilamvita-laya*). Śāraṇgdeva has mentioned about the method of embellishment of the *maṅgalagīta* or *gītamaṅgala* thus:

Kaiśikyāṃ boṭṭarāga vā maṅgalaṃ maṅgalaiḥ padaiḥ/
Vilamvita-laye geyaṃ maṅgala-cchandasāthavā//

—SR. IV. 303.

Thus we find that there were current two kinds of *kaśika-rāga* in the ancient Indian society: one, the *jāti* or *jātirāga* and the other, the *grāmarāga*. Bharata has described the *kaiśika-jāti* as one of the eighteen *jātirāgas* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (28.45), and Nārada has mentioned about the *kaiśika-grāmarāga* in the *Nāradīśikṣā* (vide the Vārāṇasi edition, p. 409). Nārada has said that the *grāmarāga kaiśika* was mentioned by the musicologist, Kaśyapa: "*kaśyapaḥ kaiśikaṃ prāha madhyamagrāma-sambhavaṃ*" (IV. 11). The commentator, Bhaṭṭośobhākara has said that that *kaiśika*, *madhyamagrāma*, *sāḍava* and other *grāmarāgas* used to be duly sung in ancient India. Matanga (5th-7th century A.D.) has mentioned in the *Bṛhaddeśī* that the *grāmarāga kaiśika* used to be sung along with the *prabandha*, *dhruvā* specially meant for the dramatic performances: "*dhruvāyāṃ viniyojanaṃ*" (*śloka* 265). The commentator, Mallināth has regarded *kaiśika* or *kaiśikī* as a *rāga*. Mallināth has said: "*kaiśikaiḥ svīkṛta-rāga-viśeṣaiḥ*." Kallināth has said about the *bhāṣārāga*, *kaīśiki*, and it is

the *bhāṣārāga* of the *śuddha-pañcama* (SR. IV. 207). As regards the *boṭṭa* or *bhoṭṭa rāga*, Śāraṅgdeva has said that this *grāmarāga*, *boṭṭa* used to be sung on the occasion of religious functions in commemoration of Śiva, the Lord of Bhavānī: "*utsave viniyoktavyo bhavānīpati-vallabhaḥ*" (II.50).

It is said that *boṭṭa* or *bhoṭṭa* is a classical *rāga*, imported from the Bhoṭadeśa in the Tibetan region. Dr. P.C. Bāgchi has said that the *boṭṭarāga* might be connected with the Indian names of Tibet, as *boṭṭa* (*bhuṭiyā* or *bhoṭṭa*) however does not occur either in Sanskrit inscriptions or in texts before the 7th century A.D. Such might be the case of the classical *raga ṭakka* or *ṭaṅkī*, which was collected or imported from Aṭ-ṭock or Aṭ-ṭak *janapada* (town), situated on the bank of the Indus river. The evidences of inclusion of innumerable regional tunes (*rāgas*) into the stock of classical music are found in Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī*, and it is a historical fact that there were intermixture of tunes of the Aryans with those of the aboriginal tribes of ancient India. The *boṭṭarāga* of the Bhoṭadeśa used to be sung on the occasion of sacred ceremonial functions like the *rāga kaiśika*: "*bhoṭṭaja-ṛi-dha-sañcāra gīyata sarva-maṅgale*.' Now it is clear that the *maṅgalagīti* or *gītamaṅgala*, as mentioned by Kālidās in the *Kumārasambhava*, used to be sung either with the help of *kaiśika* or *boṭṭa* (or *bhoṭṭa*), exclusively for sacred religious purpose. Kallināth (1446-1465 A.D.) has also mentioned that with the help of *maṅgala* verses and the *rāgas kaiśika* or *boṭṭa*, the sacred song, *maṅgala* used to be sung in auspicious fanctions: "*kaiśika-rāge boṭṭa-rāge vā kalyāṇa-vācikai padair-vilamvitena layena maṅgalo geyaḥ, athavā maṅgala-nāmanā-chanadasā*". (SR. IV. 303). As regards the special feature or

characteristic of the *dhavala-prabandha-gāna*, Kallināth has further said that the four sacred symbols like *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā* and *padma* should be mentioned in the composition (*sāhitya*) of the *dhavala-gīti*. Again in every verse (*caraṇa*), there shall occur twenty *mātrās* in the song and all these were again divided into five groups.

The *maṅgala-gīti* used to be profusely sung in Bengal, and specially in the Rāḍadeśa in West Bengal from the 13th to the 18th century A.D. From Vipradās (*Manasā-maṅgala*) to Bhārata Chandra (*Annadā-maṅgala*), the religio-mythological ballads like *maṅgala-gāna*, etc. used to be sung in different villages of Bengal with *śāstric rāgas* and *tālas*. From the musical references, as mentioned in Kālidāsa's works, we come to know that arts of drama and music used to be cultured by both the rural and urban people of mediaeval India, and the literary compositions (*sāhitya*) of those songs and dramas were written both in Sanskrit and Prākrit.

APPENDIX III

RABINDRA-SANGĪT AND RABINDRANĀTH

Rabindranāth was a born composer as well as a musician. He was nurtured in an atmosphere of Indian classical music from his childhood. Calcutta, particularly the poet's ancestral palace at Jorāsāṅko was the venue of the culture of classical music. Many leading and reputed Muslim and Hindu musicians came at that time from Delhi and other places of North India and settled in Vishṇupur (Bāṅkurā), Hooghly, Cinsurā, Krishṇagar, Śrīrāmpur, Calcutta, Gobardāṅgā, Mymensingh, Gaurīpur, Assam, Tipperāh, Betiyā under the patronage of music-loving Rājās and landlords. Vishṇupur, in those days, was recognized as the most prominent centre of culture of music in Bengal. Rabindranāth got impetus and inspiration in music first from his brothers and associates. Musical *soirees* were held now and then at the Tagore Palace of Jorāsāṅko. Poet's father Maharṣi Devendranāth Tagore of revered memory was himself a great admirer and patron of classical music. He encouraged his beloved youngest son, Rabindranāth to compose songs and poems. He also engaged some reputed music-teachers like Viṣṇu Chakravurty, Śrīkanṭha Singha and others to teach Rabindranāth pure type of classical and other kinds of devotional music. It is said that Jadubhaṭṭa of Vishṇupur for sometime taught him some *dhruvapadas* of different *rāgas* and *tālas*, but Rabindranāth himself did not admit this fact.

Rabindranāth's voice was resonant, charming and sonorous from his very boyhood. He had exceptional merit

and aptitude in exactly imitating the most difficult *dhruvapadas* and *dhāmāras*. In his *Jivanasmṛti* ('Reminisence'), he mentioned that fact that not only he heard good songs, but learnt them as a part of his life's *sādhanā*. He had also an innate propensity for mastering intricate *tālas*. He had great regard for *dhruvapada* type of *prabandhagītis* in the early period of his life, and composed many *dhruvapadas* in Bengali after the pattern of the old traditional ones. His compositions were rich in poetic value and beauty, shedding aesthetic lusture. He departed, in this respect, from the steriotyped method of composing songs that prevailed in the past and threw new light thereon. Most of the compositions of classical songs of the past masters are bereft of poetic value and beauty, but he fashioned a tie of harmony between words and tunes (*kathā* and *sura*) of songs. The compositions (*sāhitya*) of songs underwent significant transformation at the touch of his magic want at it were.

The music, that evolved and nurtured on the soil of India and that maintained throughout the Indian spirit and tradition, is known as 'Indian music'. Indian music has a special charm, characteristic and feature of its own, and so it differs from music of all other countries. Rabindranāth realized this truth, and recognized it as the most exalted of all arts. He observed in the *Religion of Man* that music "assumes a tune form which is definite, but a meaning which is indefinable, and yet which grips our mind with a sense of absolute truth". "Our music," he said elsewhere, "transcends the presincts of everyday life, so there is to be found so much of tenderness and indifference to worldly joys and sorrows as if it is ordained to reveal the story of the innermost and inexplicable mystery that

surrounds the soul of man and of the universe". While comparing the music of India with that of Europe, he said: "In India, our best thoughts are engrossed in the devotion to song, and we have to overcome the difficulties mainly in the song; in Europe devotion to voice is their first concern, and they perform most complicatedly wonderful feats with it. An appreciative audience in India are content to listen to the beauty of the song alone; but in Europe they listen to the singing of the song". He further said: "I hold that the provinces of Western and Eastern music is, as it were, strangely entwined with the activities of life, so it becomes easy to connect the air of a song with multiform experiences of life". Many of the savants of other countries are of the same opinion that Indian music is superior to others for its superb emotional appeal, together with transcendental nature and beauty.

Rabindranāth was a stunch follower of traditional Indian music, and yet he was a man of independent spirit in every walk of his life and so he sometimes revolted against the steriotyped method of practice of music. He believed that the new things may rise from the ashes of the old ones, and every epoch of history possesses certain new outlook and novel character and idea of its own. It is true that music of both Vedic and classical times underwent some novel change during the Muhammedan period, and music that was prevalent in the mediaeval time is sure to take some new course in the present time. As everything in this world of change is not constant, so principle and practice of music of every age must be subject to change with some new additions and alterations, to suit the taste and temperament of the people of different ages. Rabindranāth was a bright example of his own conviction. So as days were on, he left

the beaten tract in the domain of ~~Indian~~ music, and brought about some innovations in the field of music. In this respect, he may be termed a revolutionary-cum-rationalist. His way of presentation of classical type of songs took a novel course without exhibiting some unnecessary *bāṭas* and *tānas*, having different mathematical arrangements of *svaras* and *tālas*. He laid special stress upon the spirit of both compositions and tunes of his songs. He believed that rhythm and tempo (*tāla* and *laya*) create symmetry and harmony in songs, but yet there should be proportionate control and balance in them, because the acrobatic feats of intricate and disproportionate *tānas*, *bāṭas* and *tālas* spoil the harmonious developement of the *rāgas* as well as of the songs. So let not the *tānas*, *bāṭas* and *tālas* lord over the songs, but remain as the loving companions of the songs. He composed hundreds and thousands of songs of different types, keeping an eye upon this ideal. He set tunes to almost all of his songs himself and made some of the songs to be tuned by his near and dear ones after his manner. He used to sing those songs, so as to test their intrinsic value and quality, and also taught them correctly to others. Though he generally followed most of the traditional forms of the *rāgas*, yet brought about an admixture in many of them and adopted those forms that were prevalent in the old Bengali songs and in songs of the Vishṇupur School.

Rabindranāth maintained that melody (*sura*) does not depend on words (*sāhitya*), but what words fail to convey, melody can do it with perfect ease, and that where words end, melody begins, and yet words (*sāhitya*) are necessary for the easy unfolding of the hidden beauty and grandeur of melody (*sura*). Again words are the signs or symbols of

the songs, whereas the tunes or melodies are life of them. So, according to Rabindranāth, the words of the tuneful songs must be of deep significance as well as of poetical value, so as to help the artists and the audiences to easily grasp the divine beauty that underlies the songs. He, therefore, composed songs which were both musical and lyrical (*suradharmī* and *kāvyadharmī*), to cover the entire fields of music and its appreciation. It has already been said before that Rabindranāth was both a composer and a tuner. He composed songs and added tunes to them according to the temperament of themes and compositions of the songs. He said that a tune is a combination of motions i.e. sweet vibrations of the *prāṇa* or vital energy, which create a divine urge and feeling in the hearts of the artists and the listeners, so as to make them transcend the deceitful limitations of time and space. Therefore a tune is a moving unit which is creative and living.

Rabindranāth was not a blind follower of any chalked out path, but was a lover of progress and yet he followed a suitable method that was nourished on the soil of Bengal. He was a follower of the Vishṇupur School, and it is said that this School was an offshoot of the Seni *gharāṇā* of Delhi, which took some new and novel form in the hands of the talented Bengali *Ustāds* of Vishṇupur. The *śāstric rāgas* were already prevalent in Bengal, but for some unknown cause, many *rāgas* and even *tālas* took some new forms other than the traditional ones. As for example, the *rāgas* like *puravī* or *pūrvī*, *bhairava*, *bhairavī*, *vasanta*, *vibāga*, *rāmakelī*, *pañcama*, *lalita*, *vāgeśrī*, *sindhu*, etc., and *tālas* like *yat*, *āḍāṭhekā*, *madhyamāna*, *teerā*, *ekatāla*, *dhāmāra*, etc. took some novel forms and methods of presentation. Rabindranāth incorporated in his system

most of the forms of the *rāgas* that were current in Bengal. He devised also some new *rāgas* and *tālas*, with the combination of the systems of both the South and the North. Sometimes he did not follow the rigid rules of sharp (*śuddha*) and flat (*komala*) notes in the structutes of the *rāgas*, and so he incorporated many tunes in a *rāga* and made it an organic whole. His methods of presentation of the *rāgas* as well as of the songs are very simple and appealing. His later *dhruvapada* type of songs are not at all the imitative ones, and yet they are very majestic, sweet and significant. His *kheyāl*, *ṭappā* and *ṭhumrī* types of songs possess some special qualities. He loved synthesis. So many of the Western and Eastern tunes were coalesced in his system of music for the formation of new models. He synthesised dance with music in some of his dramas and enriched their rhythms and tempi.

Rabindranāth's creative genius flowered forth in the songs and dances specially composed and conceived for the *gītināṭyas* and *nṛtyanāṭyas*. Or it can be said in other words that the *gītināṭyas* like *Vālmīkīpratibhā*, *Kālamṛgayā* and *Māyārkhelā* and the *nṛtyanāṭyas* like *Chitrāṅgadā*, *Chaṇḍālikā* and *Śyāmā*, etc. are the landmarks of his creative faculty of composing songs and conceiving dances. He travelled extensively all over the world, and noticed with keen interest varied tunes and techniques of music and dances, both classical and folk, prevalent in different countries, and sometimes, adopted them in his own system. He also assimilated the European and Irish tunes (melodies) in his music. In dance, he introduced the techniques of *Bharatanāṭyaṃ*, *Kathākali*, *Kathaka*, *Manipurī*, *Kandayan*, *Seraikela*, *Rāibenśe*, together with those of the ballet dance of Dovenshire, England, and dances of Java, Bāli and other

countries. Now, if it is questioned whether Rabindranāth did introduce any new school of music or dance, the answer will be in the negative. He was to innovate a new aspect and infuse a new spirit in music and dance, and this is true in respect of his dramas also, which brought an awakening in the field of historic art. He was a lover of truth and beauty, and as such although he had his mind fixed upon the ideals of the Vedic and classical and mediaeval India, yet he was fully conscious of the ever-changing taste and temperament of the human society.

Rabindranāth was a man of rare genius. He was not merely a composer and musician, but also a great poet, an eminent educationalist, an artist, a scientist and a historian, and above all a messenger of peace, love and humanism. His aesthetic sense and spiritual vision were unique. He brought about a renaissance in the field of art, literature and music, and gave a new impetus that inspired not only the people of India, but also all the art-loving peoples of the world. He not only composed the classical type of songs, but many *bāul, bhāṭiyālī* and devotional songs as well, and himself used to sing like a God-intoxicated mystic. He also composed many *kīrtanas* after the ideal of the *Vaishṇava-padāvalī*. His national songs breathe a spirit of love and devotion for his motherland, and may be regarded as the fountain-head of living inspiration to all classes of people of all countries.

He was a man of faith and self-confidence. He was a believer in God and His beautiful creation. His songs are, therefore, full of praise of Nature and her Creator. In short, his songs can be divided into main six classes, and they are *pujā*, *prakṛti*, *prema*, *anuṣṭhānika*, *svadeśa* and *vicitra*. His seasonal songs (*ṛtu-saṁgīta*)

are full of dynamic rhythms. His outlook was always surcharged with spiritual fervour. He maintained that absolute freedom (*mukti*) can be attained through music in the midst of innumerable sufferings and a thousand bondages of the world. They should not be shunned, he said, but should be harmonized in our life, and transformed into divine beauty and hevenly bliss through one's own supreme realization. So most of his songs are full of adoration and supplication of the supreme Being and as such stir the very depth of heart of man irrespective of caste, creed and colour.

We can tentatively discern five strata in the evolution of Rabindranāth's compositions or songs, and these strata throughout prove the creative genius and dynamic personality of the poet. He had in him an intense progressive outlook, but his notion of progress was supplemented by finality or fulfilment of the goal. (1) in the first stratum was found many religious and devotional *dhruvapadas* and old Bengali songs with classical *rāgas* and *tālas*. Here he mainly followed the past old masters like Tānasen, Baijunāth, and others. (2) In the second stratum, though the first initiative was not entirely given up, yet he was found here to follow some new and novel course in music, with the admixture of different *rāgas* and *tālas*. The words got prominency in the songs, and the tunes were set according to the texture and temperament of the compositions. The tempers and tunes of *telenā*, *ṭappā* and other *rāgāgītis*, together with European and Irish melodies of Thomas Moore, were adopted in the compositions of his songs. The *gītināṭya Vālmikī-pratibhā* was produced and staged at that time (1881). Rabindranāth also recorded in his reminiscences (*Jīvansmṛti*) that the *Vālmikīpratibhā* was born of an admixture

of Indian (*deśī*) and European (*vilāti*) tunes or melodies. Gradually some of the dance-dramas (*nṛtyaṭnātyas*) like *Māyārkhelā* and *Kālamṛgayā* came out from his facile pen, though the last one was later incorporated in the *Vālmikī-pratibhā*. Afterwards dramas like *Rājā-O-Rāṇī*, *Visarjan* and lyrics like *Bhānusiṁher-padāvalī* came into being with new types of songs, dialogues and dances. (3) In the third stratum, we find that Rabindranāth's musical compositions were greatly influenced by the emotional mood or temperament of Bengal. The tunes then got slight prominence, and he composed many devotional songs at that time. (4) In the fourth stratum, we find him as a master composer of lyrical songs (*kāvyadharmī-gītis*), the tunes having full accord with the words, and Rabindranāth here was found to lay more stress upon the emotional sentiments in his songs. His national songs were composed mostly during the last part of the third or first part of the fourth strata. The *bāul*, *bhāṭiyālī*, *jārī*, *kīrtana* types of songs were composed at this time. The dance-drama *Citrāṅgadā* came into being at this time, and the techniques of dances like *bharatanāṭyaṃ*, *kathākalī*, of the South, *kathaka* of Lucknow, and *manipuri* of Assam were introduced in it. Besides, the techniques and textures of dances, mentioned above and the dance recital of the *Citrāṅgadā* also were enriched by an admixture of regional dances like *seraikhela*, *rāibenśe*, *gambhirā*, *gājan*, *kāzri*, *caiti*, together with the dances prevailing in Java, Bali and other places of the Far East.

In the socalled fifth stratum, we find Rabindranāth mainly composing songs of peaceful sentiments (*śāntarasa*). He was living at that time the life of a mystic or God-intoxicated man. He used to consider himself as a mere

child of Nature, as a result of which we got the songs describing the play of the six seasons (*ṛturaṅga* or *ṛtucakra*). Many of these songs are akin to the folk-songs, describing the natural beauty, sublimity and simplicity of villages and peaceful environments of Śāntiniketan and Śilāidaha. He had an intense love for his motherland, specially for Bengal, his land of birth. His *kīrtana* and *bāul* types of songs are marvels of composition and tune. He had a high estimation of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal. He observed: "Our *kīrtan* music of Bengal came to its being like a star burning whirlpool or emotion in the heart of a whole people, consciousness was aflame with a sense of reality, that must be adequately acknowledged".

Rabindranāth was a lover of music of all nations, yet he had a soft corner for the music of his own land. He said that Indian music is superb for its lofty ideals and living spirit. He listened to European music many times, collected materials from them, and adopted them in his own music, where and when necessary. But it should be noted that he always Indianized them. It has been said before that while comparing Indian music with the European one, he maintained that Indian music has the innate power to awaken the emotional sentiments and spiritual urge in man, whereas European music stirs only the emotional depth; the one enters direct into the inner chamber of the heart of man, whereas the other gives only the knock at the door. So there lies a difference between the two, from the viewpoints of religious and spiritual significances. To quote his own words in this respect: "At first, I must admit your Western music jarred upon me. I heard Madame Albani sing a song in which there was an imitation of the nightingale. It was childishly imitative of the mere externals of nature that I could

take little pleasure in it. * * * It seems to me that Indian music concerns itself more with human experience as interpreted by religion that with experience in an everyday sense. For us, music has above all a transcendental significance. * * * Our music draws the listener away beyond the limits of everyday human joys and sorrows, and takes us to that lovely region of renunciation, which lies at the root of the universe, while European music leads us to a varriegated dance through the endless rise and fall of human grief and joy".

From this we learn that Rabindranāth's outlook of music was quite different not only from those of the European and other Western countries, but also from those of the socalled composers and musicians of India. He had an out-an-out religious and spiritual outlook, and, in this respect, he preserved the tradition of spiritual India in the domain of music. His music must, therefore, be looked upon and preserved as the priceless heritage of glorious India, so as to uplift the level of consciousness of the human society.

In conclusion, it can be said that Rabindranāth was a mighty ocean, in which there mingled all the streams of schools and styles of music. He synthesized all types of music, classical and folk in his system, and roused a new hope and inspiration not only in the hearts of compatriots, but also in those of all people of the world. His music is serene and simple, and it reaches the innermost core of everyone with easy grace. It should not, therefore, be kept confined within a privileged class to make its scope for expansion rigid, but be placed on a common or universal platform which may be approached by and accessible to all classes of people,—artists and artisans, so as to make them enjoy its enchanting flavour and exquisite beauty, so that it may 'vibrate in the memory' ever and anon.

II

Five of the beautiful compositions of songs of Rabīndranāth, which were composed in Bengali, in imitation of the traditional Hindī *dhruvapada* songs, are given herewith in the *devanāgarī* script :

(क) महाराज, एकि साजे एले हृदयपुरमाझे ।
चरणतले कोटि शशी सूर्य मरे लाजे ॥
गर्व सब टुटिया, मूर्छि पडे लुटिया,
सकल मम देह मन वीणासम बाजे ॥
एकि पुलक-वेदना वहिछे मधुवाये,
कानने यत पुष्प चिल मिलिल तव पाये ।
पलक नाहि नयने, हेरि ना किछु भुवने,
निरखि शुधु अन्तरे सुन्दर विराजे ॥[1]

(ख) शान्ति कर वरिषण नीरव धारे, नाथ, चित्तमाझे ;
सुखे दुखे सब काजे, निर्जने जनसमाजे ।
उदित राख नाथ, तोमार प्रेमचन्द्र,
अनिमेष मम लोचने, गभीर तिमिर-माझे ॥[2]

(ग) सुन्दर वहे आनन्द-मन्दानिल, समुदित प्रेमचन्द्र,
अन्तर पुलकाकुल ।

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1 This song was composed in imitation of Suratasena's composition: मेरे दुन्द दल साजे दशरथ-सुत राम, पदम दश कोटित कोटि कोप धायो, etc. in Bihāg—*Jhāmptāla* (cf. the notation in Rāmaprasanna Banerjee's *Saṅgītamañjarī* (1935) pp. 531-532).

2 This song was composed in imitation of Tānarāja's song: शम्भू हर पदयुग ध्यानि वखानि, नाथरङ्ग तोरि कीरतन दिन रैण, गावत जनसमाज । etc. in Tilaka-kāmoda—*surphāktā* or *sūlatāla* (cf. the notation in the *Saṅgītamañjarī*, pp. 330-322).

कुञ्ज कुञ्जे जागिछे वसन्त-पुन्य-गन्ध,
शून्ये वाजिछे रे अनादि वीणाध्वनि ॥
अचल विराज करे शशी-तारा-मण्डित
सुमहान सिंहासने त्रिभुवनेश्वर ।
पदतले विश्वलोयु रोमाञ्चित
जय जय गीत गाहे सुर-नर ॥[3]

(घ) प्रलगड गर्जने आसिल एकि दुर्दिन,
दारुण घनघटा, अविरल अशनि तर्जन ।
घनघन दामिनी, भुजङ्ग-क्षत-यामिनी,
अम्बर करिछे अन्ध नयने अश्रु वरिषण ॥
छाडरे शङ्का जागो भीरु,
अलस आनन्दे जागाओ अन्तरे शकति ॥
अकुण्ठ आँखि मेलि हेर प्रशान्त विराजित,
महाभय महासने अपरूश मृत्युञ्जय-रूपे भयहरण ॥[4]

(ङ) आज वहिछे वसन्त-पवन सुमन्द, तोमारि सुगन्ध हे ।
कत आकुल प्राण आजि गाहिछे गान,
चाहे तोमारि पाणे आनन्दे हे ॥
ज्वले तोमार आलोक द्युलोक भूलोके,
गगन-उत्सव प्राङ्गने,

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3 This song was composed in imitation of Budhaprakāśa's song: शङ्कर शिव पिणाकी गङ्गाधर, विषधर (=विखधर) वामदेव ईश्वर डमरुकर, etc. in Imana-kalyāṇa—*surphāktāla* or *sūlatāla* (cf. the notation in *Saṅgītamañjarī*, pp. 264-266).

4 This song was composed in imitation of Jānakīdāsa's song: प्रचण्ड गर्जन सजल वरषा (वरखा)-ऋतु, काम आगम अति-विरहिनी जियन तर्जन, etc. in Bhupālī—*surphākta* or *sūlatāla* (cf. the notation the *Saṅgītamañjarī* pp. 276-278).

चिर-ज्योति पाइछे चन्द्र तारा, आँखि पाइछे अन्ध हे।
तव मधुर-मुख-भाति-विहसित-प्रेम-विकशित अन्तरे,
कत भकत डाकिछे 'नाथ, याचि दिवस-रजनी
तव सङ्ग हे'।
उठे सजने प्रान्तरे लोक-लोकान्तरे,
यशोगाथा कत छन्दे हे,
ऐ भवशरण प्रभु, अभय-पद तव सुर-मानव-
मुनि वन्दे हे ॥[5]

Besides these, Rabīndranāth independently composed some thousands of songs of various aspects in different *rāgas* and *tālas*, and they are recognized as the precious treasure of Indian music.

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5 This song was composed in imitation of Raṅganāth's (Jadu Bhaṭṭa of Viṣṇupur) song: आजु वहत सुगन्ध पवन सुमन्द मधुर वसन्तमेँ, हर मकुर पर-युथ मधुप मदहर निरत कर रव कुञ्जमेँ। etc., in Bāhār—*teorātāla* (cf. the notation in *Saṅgītamañjarī*, pp. 486-488).

III

Rabīndranāth said (original Bengali is given herewith in the Devanagrī script):

१। संगीत कोन एकटि रागिणीते यतइ रमनीय सम्पूर्ण रूप ग्रहण करुक ना केन, साधारण भाषाय एवं वाहिरेर दिक थेके ताके असीम वला याय ना। रूपेर सीमा आछे। किन्तु रूप यखन सेइ सीमामात्रके देखाय तखन सत्यके देखाय ना। तार सीमाइ यखन प्रदीपेर मतो असीमेर आलो ज्वालिये धरे तखनइ सत्य प्रकाश पाय।

—साहित्येर पथे।

२। आमादेर देशे संगीत एमनि शास्त्रगत, व्याकरणगत, अनुष्ठानगत हइया पडियाछे। स्वाभाविकता हइते एत दूरे चलिया गियाछे ये, अनुभवेर सहित संगीतेर विच्छेद हइयाछे, केवल कतकगुला सुर-समष्टिर कर्दम एवं राग-रागिणीर छाँच ओ काटाम अवशिष्ट रहियाछे ; संगीत एकटि मृत्तिकामयी प्रतिमा हइया पडियाछे, ताहाते हृदय नाइ, प्राण नाइ। एइरूप एकइ छाँचे ढाला, अपरिवर्तनशील संगीतेर जड प्रतिमा आमादेर देवदेवी-मूर्तिर न्याय बहुकाल हइते चलिया आसितेछे। ये कोन गायक-कुम्भकार संगीत गडियाछे, प्राय सेइ एकइ छाँचे गडियाछे। एइटुकु मात्र ताहार वाहादुरी ये, ताहार सम्मुखस्थित आदर्श मूर्तिर सहित ताहार गठित प्रतिमार किछुमात्र तफात हय नाइ ; एमनि ताहार हात दोरस्त।** संगीते एतखानि प्राण थाका चाइ, याहाते से समाजेर वयसेर सहित वाडिते थाके, समाजेर उपर निजेर प्रभाव विस्तृत करिते पारे ओ ताहार उपरे समाजेर प्रभाव प्रयुक्त हय। समाज-वृक्षेर शाखाय शुष्क मात्र अलङ्कारस्वरूपे संगीत नामे एकटि सोनार डाल वाँधिया देओया हइयाछे, गाछेर सहित से वाडे ना, गाछेर रसे से पुष्ट हय ना, वसन्ते ताहाते मुकुल धरे ना, पाखीते ताहार उपर वसिया गान गाहे ना। गाछेर आर किछु उपकार करे ना, केवल शोभा वर्धन करे।

शोभावर्धनेर कथा यदि उठिल तवे तत्सम्बन्धे दुइ एकटि कथा वला आवश्यक।** नानाविध कापडेर पाडे, रेखाविन्यास ओ वर्णविन्यास द्वारा

विविध नयनरञ्जक आकृति-सकल चित्रित हय, किन्तु शुद्ध ताहातेइ आमरा इटालीयदेर न्याय चित्रशिल्पी वलिया विख्यात हइव ना। आमादेर संगीतओ सेइरूप सुरविन्यास मात्र, यतक्षण आमरा ताहार मध्ये अनुभाव ना आनिते पारिव, ततक्षणे आमरा उच्चश्रेणीर संगीतवित् वलिया गर्व करिते पारिव ना।

—भारती १२८८ आषाढ।

३। आमादेर कालोयाति गानेर एइ ये राग-रागिणी, इयार रसटा कि? राग शब्देर गोडाकार माने रं। एइ शब्दटा यखन मनेर सम्बन्धे व्यवहार करा हय तखन वोझाय भालो लागा। वांलाय राग कथाटार माने क्रोध। इंराजिते passion वलिते भालो लागा आर क्रोध दुइइ वोझाय। भालो लागा आर क्रोध एइ दुइयेर मध्ये एकटा ऐक्य आछे। एइ दुटो भावेइ चित्त-उद्दीपित हइया उठे। एइ दुयेरइ एक रं, सेइ रंटा राङा ओटा रक्तेर रं, हृदयेर निजेर आभा।

—संगीतेर मुक्ति।

४। ठाटगुलिर आयतनेर उपरइ गान-रचयितार स्वाधीनता निर्भर करे। राजमिस्त्री इँट साजाइया इमारत तैरी करे। किन्तु तार हाते इँट ना दिया यदि एक एकटा आस्त तैरी देयाल किंवा महल देओया याइत तवे इमारत गडार तार निजेर वाहादुरी तेमन वेशी थाकित ना। सुरेर ठाटगुलि इंटेर मत हईलेइ तादेर दिया व्यक्तिगत विशेषत्व प्रकाश करा याय, देयाल किंवा आस्त महलेर मत हइले तादेर दिया जातिगत साधारणताइ प्रकाश करा याय। आमादेर देशेर गानेर ठाट एक एकटा वड वड फालि, ताकेइ वलि रागिणी।

—संगीतेर मुक्ति।

५। सुरेर महले कथाके भद्र आसन दिले ताते संगीतेर खर्वता घटे किना एइ निये कथा काटाकाटि चलेछे। विचारकाले सम्पादक वलेछेन,

आसामीर वक्तव्य शोना उचित। संगीतेर बड आदालते आसामी श्रेणीते आमार नाम उठेछे अनेकदिन थेके। आत्मपक्षे आमार या बलबार संक्षेपे बलब। आमार शक्ति क्षीण, समय अल्प, विद्याइ बेशी नेइ। आमि ये शास्त्रेर दोहाइ दिये थाकि से विशेषभावे संगीतशास्त्रओ नय, काव्यशास्त्रओ नय, ताके बले ललितकलाशास्त्र, संगीत ओ काव्य दुइ तार अन्तर्गत।

—कथा ओ सुर।

६। निरर्थक शब्द आश्रय करे संगीत तेलेना सारगम सृष्टि करेछे। गीतकलाय तादेर स्थान उच्चश्रेणीर नय। तानसेन प्रभृति गुणीदेर रचना साहित्यभाषा अवलम्बनेइ आज पर्यन्त टिके आछे। से भाषा साहित्येर कोठाय सब समय उच्चासनेर अधिकारी हय ना। तबु तादेर अभावे रसे किछु अभाव यदि ना घटत ताहले संगीते देखा दित तेलेना-वगैरइ आधिपत्य। वस्तुत अकिञ्चित्कर हलेओ गाने साहित्य गौण नय। सूर्येर आलो मेघेर स्तर पेले बाष्पपुञ्जे आपन रङ फलिये देय। अति सामान्या वाक्यकेओ रिङिये तोलबार सुयोग पाय गान।

—कथा ओ सुर।

—Quoted from the *Rabīndra-racanāvalī* (janma-śatavārṣika-saṃskaraṇa, 14th Volume), published by the Government of West Bengal, 1368 B. S.

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CHAPTER XVII

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